

# IN THESE TIMES

Morris Dickstein  
on Luis Bunuel  
Page 21

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**D**ivided  
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Page 3

After the coup, Guatemala's army is restless but still in command

Politicking for peace votes **Page 6**



# THE INSIDE STORY



Wally McNamee

Will AFL-CIO backing help Mondale in the primaries?

## Pros and cons of labor endorsement

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Defying warnings that its endorsement would make the Democratic presidential nominee appear to be the candidate of special interests, the AFL-CIO, at its August 7-10 Executive Council meeting in Boston, advanced its endorsement date from December to early October. Voting 23-6, the Council chose the earlier date that favors the candidacy of former Vice-President Walter Mondale, whose standing in the polls has recently been eroded by Ohio Senator John Glenn.

The union leaders who backed the earlier date were concerned about the Glenn surge. They don't perceive Glenn as anti-labor, but as another "Jimmy Carter" who might desert them in the pinch. They also wanted to give the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) more time to put its electoral apparatus into place.

The principal dissenters in the vote were Machinist President William Winpisinger, who leans to California Senator Alan Cranston, and American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) President Kenneth Blaylock, who alone among the officials wanted more time to poll his membership on their presidential choice. But neither Blaylock nor Winpisinger (most of whose officials and staff back Mondale) made a fuss after the vote.

Labor's upcoming endorsement raises three questions:

- Will it help Mondale win the Democratic nomination?
- If it helps Mondale to get the nomination, will it help or hurt him in the general election?
- Will the process, whatever its final outcome, help revive the broader labor movement?

### Lane Kirkland's pocket.

Among Democrats, the strongest arguments against the endorsement have been made by former Carter Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan, Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas (who endorsed Glenn because he thinks that Mondale will be seen as the candidate of the special interests) and Mondale biographer and *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* bureau chief Finlay Lewis. "The AFL-CIO should worry that its chosen candidate might be vulner-

able during the primaries to opponents who try to play him in [AFL-CIO President] Lane Kirkland's pocket," Lewis wrote in the *Washington Post*.

The Democrats' argument assumes that white-collar Democrats and independent voters will be less inclined to vote for a labor-backed candidate because the candidate will be seen not simply as endorsed by labor, but as labor's candidate. A May *Los Angeles Times* poll appears to make their case for the white-collar Democrats, who outnumber blue-collar Democrats by about three-to-two.

While a slim majority of blue-collar Democrats said they would be more, rather than less, likely to vote for the AFL-CIO candidate, 19 percent of white-collar Democrats said they would be less likely, and only 8.8 percent said they would be more likely to vote for the labor-backed candidate.

In terms of general election prospects, poll results again spell trouble for the AFL-CIO and Mondale. According to an April CBS/*New York Times* poll, 21 percent of independent voters—a key bloc in the general election—would be less likely and only 9 percent more likely to back the AFL-CIO candidate.

Some labor officials have also been skeptical about the AFL-CIO's endorsement policy. While they don't express their doubts in terms of special interest candidacies—labor officials are understandably reluctant to endorse the perception that a labor-backed Democrat is a special interest candidate and a business-backed Republican is not—they are worried about the AFL-CIO's inability to deliver its members' votes. Speaking of the endorsement strategy, one official from a large AFL-CIO union said, "I think it is real stupid. We have the best political network of any union, and we have had a hard time getting our people to vote in the primaries."

But there are strong arguments that can be made on behalf of the AFL-CIO strategy. Assuming that Cranston is not a viable candidate in November (a fair assumption) and that Mondale is viable (a questionable assumption) and preferable politically to Glenn (a fair one), the AFL-CIO endorsement should make it easier for Mondale to win the nomination and place the AFL-CIO in an optimal position in November 1984. There are two factors that do not show up in opinion polls: first, the effect on Mondale's candidacy of \$15-20 million in campaign services, which do not have to be figured in his own campaign expenses, and second, the preponderance in the 1984 Democratic nominating process of caucuses rather than primaries.

In 1984, 31 percent of the Democratic delegates to the nominating convention will be chosen in caucuses rather than primaries. From February 27, when the nominating process begins, to April 1, when the victor has usually emerged, 17 states will have held caucuses but only eight primaries will have occurred. In caucus states, usually far fewer voters participate, and the more active, organized wing of the party—typically labor—carries the day. Labor should have a decisive impact on the February 27 Iowa caucus and the March 17 Michigan caucus. And it should play a role in the rest—for example, even in Mississippi, which is holding a March 17 caucus, an AFL-CIO endorsement will help in the caucus, where it might harm Mondale in a primary.

Of course, if Glenn wins primaries in New Hampshire (March 6), Florida (March 13) and Illinois (March 20), Mondale's lead in overall delegates and in the caucuses won't matter. As Richard Scammon, a political consultant close to Kirkland and the AFL-CIO, ac-

knowledgeed, "If Glenn beats Mondale in New Hampshire, the impression created would be worth a dozen caucuses." And in New Hampshire and Florida, the pluses and minuses of the AFL-CIO endorsement will at best cancel each other.

In the general election, the AFL-CIO will back whoever is chosen as the Democratic nominee. If it is Mondale, the Republican, presumably Ronald Reagan, will insinuate that Mondale is in "Lane Kirkland's pocket," but that may not prove important. Argued Ben Albert of COPE, "If the labor endorsement is a big issue, I'll be surprised. If it can push Central America and the economy out of the way, it will have been a pretty tame campaign."

### Labor's future.

The purpose of the AFL-CIO endorsement is to revive the labor movement by electing a candidate who will do its bidding. Pointing to Franklin Roosevelt in the '30s, labor officials argue that a president sympathetic to labor can have a significant impact on the growth and vitality of the movement. Roosevelt not only put his seal of approval on union drives (the United Mine Workers used to organize on the slogan "The president wants you to join a union"), but he also sponsored legislation that made union recognition far easier.

The AFL-CIO wants to set the same process in motion again. Yet on the basis of its experience during the Carter years, its leaders don't believe that endorsing a nominally pro-labor Democrat is sufficient. They want a president in the White House tied to them by political sentiment and campaign debts.

The AFL-CIO strategy does not rely on popular mobilization but on maneuver from above, which, some hope, will ultimately result in popular mobilization. The strategy goes like this: first, get the Democratic Party officialdom to throw out the post-1968 reforms so that labor leaders can have more clout in the nominating process; second, get the labor leaders (without even polling the rank and file) to agree on a candidate; third, through a combination of campaign technology and arm-twisting at convention time, secure a candidate favorable to labor and hope he gets elected; and fourth, if he is elected, get him to champion labor law reform, full employment spending, national health insurance and an industrial policy. Popular mobilization will occur, if at all, at step five.

Such a strategy could work, and it is certainly preferable to the comparative passive strategy followed in 1976 and 1980. It also forces the AFL-CIO leadership to develop a politics that can unite not only its membership but a majority of the society.

But serious questions persist about the AFL-CIO strategy. Does it have policies that can achieve economic growth and full employment without inflation and a declining trade balance? Won't the AFL-CIO's policies suffer the same fate as French President Francois Mitterrand's initial policies did? Can the AFL-CIO overcome important foreign policy differences both within its ranks and with other Democrats? (During the Boston meeting, there was considerable dissatisfaction with Kirkland's decision to sit on the Reagan administration's Central American Commission.) If it develops those policies, can it rely on a Democrat like Mondale to carry them out in face of strong business opposition and considerable initial skepticism from the press and the public? Can one imagine Mondale (or Glenn or Cranston) cast in the role of Roosevelt?

And if Reagan happens to win in 1984, what then? ■

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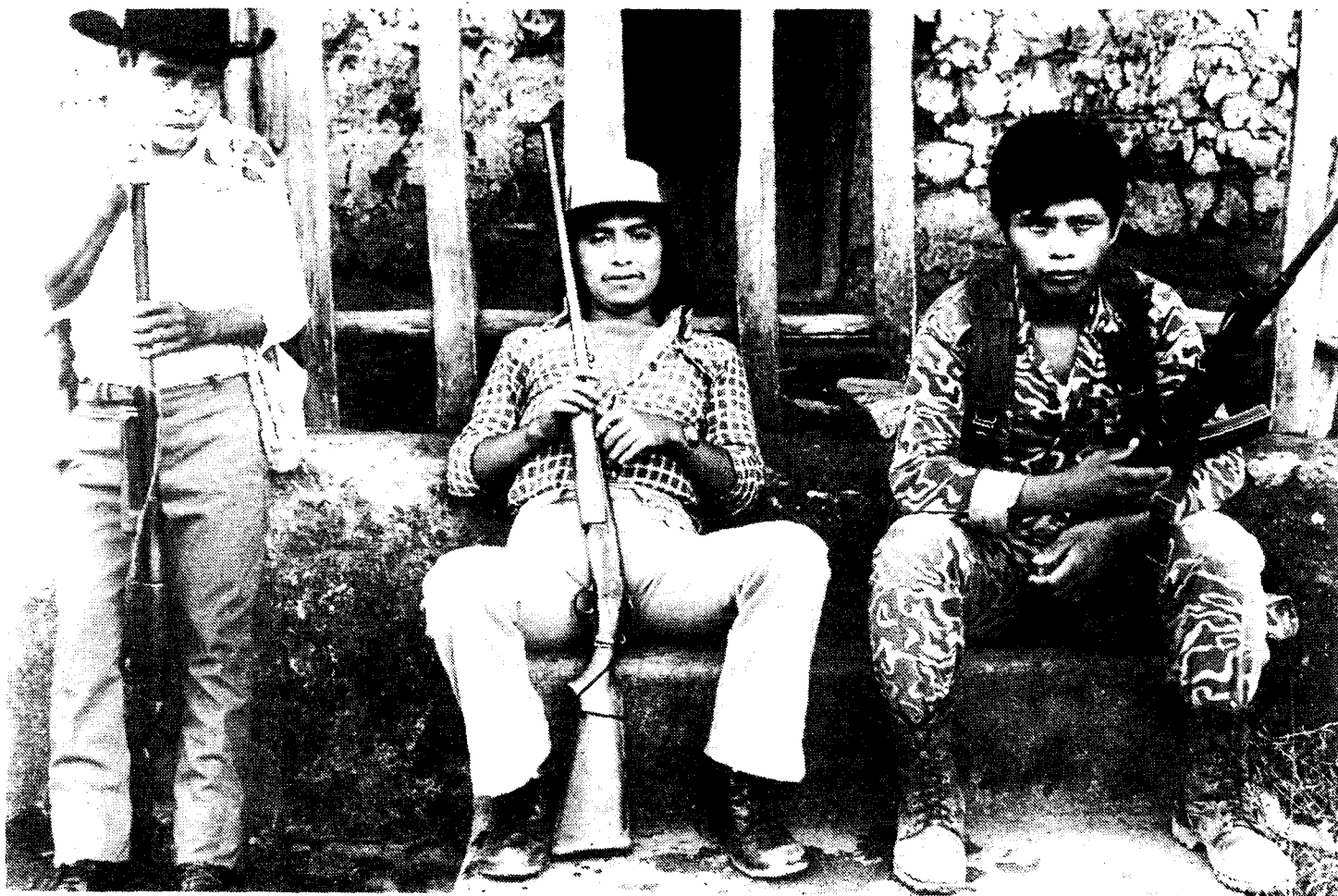
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# Army split may mean turmoil



By Allan Nairn

NEW YORK

**T**HE FALL OF GENERAL EFRAIN Rios Montt in an August 8 palace coup was the culmination of a 10-month power struggle that opened deep rifts in Guatemala's monolithic and disciplined army.

Renowned for years as one of Latin America's most orderly and cohesive armies, Guatemala's military is now suffering an unsettling outbreak of insub-



ordination. Since shortly after Rios Montt's rise to power in a March 1982 coup, young officers have been wrestling with the senior command for political control of the army and, by extension, the Guatemalan state. The ouster of Rios Montt and the installation of the senior command's representative, General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, as chief of state is a setback for the young officers who helped Rios Montt stage his coup and later rose to powerful positions in his government.

All indications are, however, that Mejia and his colleagues have not heard the last of the rebellious captains and lieutenants, and that the August 8 events may merely be a prelude to protracted internal conflict.

The young officers first emerged as a political force in 1982 after divisive bickering among the army's senior command had plunged the Guatemalan elite into political disarray. General Lucas Garcia, the incumbent president, had precipitated

the crisis by mishandling the selection of his successor.

Since the CIA overthrow of Guatemala's last democratic government in 1954, presidents had been chosen through a system of bargaining, bribery and fixed elections. Beginning sometimes years in advance of election day, the president, the army command, CACIF (the chambers of agriculture, commerce, industry and finance) and the civilian political parties would work through a round-robin of talks, payoffs and reciprocal favors. Eventually, each group understood the needs of the others, alliances were made and a rough consensus would emerge about who would be elected Guatemala's next president.

A narrow band of political parties—ranging from the ultra-right MLN (National Liberation Movement; "a party of organized violence") to the center-right Christian Democrats (who criticize repression but shy away from economic reform)—would be permitted to compete. Under the watch of both local landowners, who in many rural districts own the polling places, and army garrison commanders responsible for election security, roughly 30 percent of the eligible population would go to the polls. If the consensus candidate won, as apparently happened in 1970 when General Carlos Arana was elected, so much the better. If not, the broadcast of election tallies would be temporarily interrupted. Then the favored candidate would surge ahead and Guatemala would have a new—elected—president.

## Hard to be a loser.

Losers who harbored hard feelings were placated with positions in the graft ministries—road building, finance, construction. Those who refused to be bought could be sent abroad to diplomatic posts (like Rios Montt in 1974) or prudently seek voluntary exile (like General Ricardo Peralta Mendez in 1978). Hard cases who insisted on staying and rousing dissent could always be assassinated. In 1979, former foreign minister and vice-presidential candidate Alberto Fuentes Mohr was machine-gunned in mid-day as he drove past a Guatemala City army base a week after forming a new center-left political party.

This was the system, much esteemed by colonel and businessman alike, that Lucas threw into chaos in March 1982 by insisting on going his own way. The oligarchs, the U.S. embassy and most of the army agreed that the moment demanded

a reliable civilian president. After all, Guatemala had been subjected to intense international criticism following Lucas' rural massacres and assassinations of popular leaders. Although the army and business community had supported the repression and the Reagan State Department had perennially assured Congress that the human rights situation was improving, all believed that restoring U.S. military aid and renewing the flow of foreign investment would be easier with a civilian chief of state.

Lucas, however, refused to go along. Supported by a small clique of generals, police officials and civilian politicians from the PID (Institutional Democratic Party), Lucas short-circuited the bargaining process and fraudulently declared his own candidate, General Angel Anibal Guevara, winner of the March 5 election.

The result was world-wide derision and 18 days of political bedlam. The Lucas

Around the time of the election, the young officers joined forces with a group of senior and retired officers who were working with the MLN.

By the time they moved on the morning of March 23, most sectors of the army and the oligarchy were behind them. But the young officers, by virtue of their skillful organizing and some 800 army conspirators, were clearly in the lead.

The birth of the young officers' movement was a watershed event in Guatemalan military history. As the movement coalesced in secret meetings at the barracks of the Escuela Politecnica base in San Juan, Sacatepequez, it marked the first time since the army revolt of military academy graduates in 1960 that a group of junior officers had defied the chain of command.

But unlike their 1960 counterparts (a group of reformers who went on to become the nucleus of Guatemala's original guerrilla movement, FAR (Rebel Armed Forces), the young officers of 1982 rose against their superiors, not because they objected to the army's role in society, but because they felt the army wasn't fulfilling that role with sufficient vigor, efficiency and due regard for the low-paid and powerless frontline troops.

"We are an institutional movement of the army," said one young officer as he stood guard outside the palace on the day of the 1982 coup. "We want to restore the dignity of the army, end the corruption and crush the subversion so that the people of Guatemala can be proud."

An hour after Rios Montt had proclaimed his new government, a captain who helped lead the movement sat in the offices of the army general staff and reflected on the months to come. "Human rights don't work in Guatemala, not when you're dealing with Communist subversion. But neither does corruption. Our task is to purify the army and dedicate it to achieving the nation's goals."

## The ouster of Rios Montt is a setback for the young officers in the Guatemalan army.



Above and left: Guatemalan soldiers and members of the Guardia Civil.

people floated a death list that included two-thirds of the country's establishment politicians. Protesting the electoral fraud, the parties staged a march on the national palace that brought thousands into the streets and ended in a tense, hour-long, internationally televised confrontation—amid tear gas and stray bullets—between defiant presidential candidates and masked, pistol-waving policemen.

Into this vacuum stepped the young officers who had been plotting the coup for months. They received their political guidance from Rios Montt and from a smattering of middle-level and senior officers related to him by his marriage into the important Sosa military family.

The first seven months of Rios Montt's rule was a time of intense activity for the army, both internally and in the fields. The chain of command was disrupted as six leaders of the young officers' movement moved into the presidential palace and, in their capacity as advisors without portfolio reporting directly to Rios Montt, began shuffling command assignments and elevating some 50 of their colleagues to government positions. Meanwhile, with the encouragement of the young officers and some of the more sophisticated members of the senior command, Rios Montt began a comprehensive counterinsurgency movement based on

Continued on page 10



## IN SHORT

## Keeping the peace

The continuing quarrel between black and Jewish organizations, which began in the late '60s and surfaced noisily after Andrew Young's ouster as UN ambassador, has resurfaced during the planning of the August 27 March on Washington. The American Jewish Committee, which publishes *Commentary*, the Jewish War Veterans and the Anti-Defamation League, which were sponsors of Martin Luther King's 1963 march, have refused to endorse the event commemorating it because the march's organizing call opposed the "militarization" of conflict in the Middle East (*In These Times*, Aug. 10). Of major Jewish organizations, only the Union of Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), representing 760 Reform temples, is endorsing it. But John Judis reports that even UAHC had threatened to pull out in mid-July when the peace task force drew up a more explicit statement calling for the U.S. to "cease to be a partisan in the [Middle East]" and to use its influence to achieve "direct negotiations between Israel and the legitimate representatives of the Palestinians, including the PLO."

The foreign policy position was largely the work of a small group, led by representatives from Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, but it reflects a general sentiment among black organizations. "There is widespread concern in the black community about the impact of arms spending on the economy," one march official said. "The Mideast can no longer be exempted from that."

At the behest of Rep. Walter Fauntroy and Coretta Scott King, the march's co-chairs, a series of compromises were made with UAHC that resulted in three successive drafts of the foreign policy statement. The final draft is not expected to mention the PLO, or any disagreement the march participants have with U.S. Mideast policy. Rabbi David Saperstein of UAHC praised the process of compromise and negotiation. But Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee told the *Washington Post* that the march's policy statements were still "too pro-Third World and anti-American."

## NPR's local boosters

An unexpected boost for National Public Radio news came from affiliate station KCRW-FM in Santa Monica, Calif., last month, Michael Jondreau reports. In a special fundraiser ending July 29, KCRW became the only affiliate so far to pitch its listeners to aid NPR's news programs *Morning Edition* and *All Things Considered*, both of which have been hit by budget cuts. The 11-day campaign featured one-minute ads written and produced especially for the station by 20 NPR news personalities, including Susan Stamberg and Noah Adams. "Without those programs, we could not be a station. We felt we owed," KCRW general manager Ruth Hirschman said. More than \$92,000 came from 2,354 listeners, fewer than half of the subscribers. In contrast to many affiliates that fear a network funding call would steal their own local listener support, Hirschman says KCRW will now try to get the non-subscribers who donated to back the local affiliate.

## Spies vs. spy

When President Reagan wants to red-bait the nuclear freeze movement, he cites *Reader's Digest's* 1982 expose of Soviet manipulation and infiltration of disarmament groups—an article based largely on the research and writing of self-styled expert on left politics John Rees. The left loathes Rees, but in the August 16 *Village Voice* Seth Rosenfeld reports he didn't used to smell much better to U.S. intelligence agencies, which in the '60s repeatedly refused Rees' offers of information, terming him an "unscrupulous, unethical individual" and "a known con man." Rees and wife ultimately wormed their way into freelance FBI employ, infiltrating and informing on left groups, including the National Lawyers Guild, before being exposed. Now the editor of left-monitoring *Information Digest*, Rees has long denied charges that he was a paid government informant. "Find me proof that we have been paid informants," he told Rosenfeld in an interview. When the *Voice* reporter produced documents acquired under the Freedom of Information Act, Rees ended the interview and high-tailed it to the congressional office of close associate and Birch Society chair U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald.

## You read it here

Several weeks ago an *In These Times* editorial warned about Reagan's belligerent intentions in Central America under the headline "The man in the gray, furry bearskin." Some readers may have thought the point was overstated. Now comes the news that the president himself has owned up to his caveman tendencies in a recent speech before the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. "If it wasn't for women, us men would still be walking around in skin suits, carrying clubs," Reagan confessed. Those reassured that marital bliss has civilized the president should keep in mind his fondness for traditionally male haunts—the halls of the Pentagon, VFW conventions, California's Bohemian Grove. We stand by our headline, certain that even Nancy can't keep our backward-looking president away from his clubs and skin suits.

—Joan Walsh

## A LIVING WAGE? JOB SECURITY? FAIR PENSIONS?

The Board of Directors  
at Harper & Row, Publishers, says:

LET THEM EAT STOCK!



## Union battles Harper & Row

NEW YORK—"We used to complain that our meetings were dull," said Brooks Thomas, president of Harper and Row. "But I guess we don't have to worry about that any more." Harper and Row's annual stockholders' meeting on August 11 was anything but dull. District 65 (UAW), which represents 250 workers in Harper and Row's New York office, chose the occasion to launch a new "corporate campaign" against the publishing house, the nation's 10th largest. Just a few weeks earlier, the union hired Ray Rogers, best known for his successful public relations campaign against J.P. Stevens in the late '70s, to coordinate the effort.

The stockholders were greeted by about 100 workers and supporters demonstrating outside the meeting. "Dam the Babbling Brooks," one picket sign read. Inside the meeting, one speaker after another lambasted Harper and Row's management practices from the floor, cheered on by a standing-room-only crowd overflowing the ornate rooftop ballroom of the St. Regis Sheraton hotel. As the confrontation escalated, Thomas and Harper and Row Chairman Winthrop Knowlton grew visibly agitated, with Thomas threatening to remove people from the room. "Management handled themselves very poorly," Rogers commented gleefully afterward. "They showed they were afraid of dialogue."

Since May 1, District 65's Harper and Row members have been working without a contract. A majority of the workers voted in favor of a strike, but the tally was 10 votes short of the two-thirds majority required to authorize a walkout under the local's constitution. Negotiations continued until July 25, when management unilaterally declared an impasse. That was when Rogers' campaign, which had been authorized by the local's members in the interim, began in earnest.

Union discontent dates back to December 1981, when top management converted the workers' pension funds into an Employee

Stock-Ownership Plan (ESOP), in order to prevent a possible takeover of the company. *Newsweek* columnist Jane Bryant Quinn summarized the situation in an article on "The Threats to Retirement" on July 18. "For a troubling example of what can happen," she wrote, "take Harper and Row. Last year a major shareholder wanted to sell his stock, which might have triggered a takeover and cost the company's top executives their jobs. The company prevented the sale of the stock through an astonishing series of transactions: they killed the 18-year-old pension plan; spent some of the money on annuities (or cash payments) to cover vested employee benefits; used the rest of the money to buy the available H&R stock, paying \$20 a share when the market price was only \$10.50; deposited that stock into an employee stock-ownership plan, and expected employees to welcome the new plan as a substitute for their old pensions. Being smarter than that, some H&R employees sued to undo the deal. If it stands, their retirement security will depend almost entirely on what happens to H&R stock."

District 65 organizer Bernice Krawczyk attributes management's tough bargaining posture in this year's negotiations to anger about the union's lawsuit. The union's is one of three suits now pending over the ESOP conversion; the other two were filed by individual employees outside the bargaining unit. Its goal, Krawczyk says, is reinstatement of the former pension plan, which was guaranteed by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., or a plan with equivalent security.

Another key issue separating District 65 and Harper and Row management is union security. In the failed contract negotiations, the company demanded an open shop clause. Since 1965, Harper and Row has been an agency shop, and all but a handful of the eligible workers are union members. Turnover rates are high in the publishing industry, running about 35 percent a year at Harper and Row, making an agency shop a cornerstone of union strength.

Unionization is a rarity in the publishing business, and even with some recent organizing successes District 65's Publishing

Division totals only 900 members. The Association of Employees at Harper & Row, formed in the '30s, affiliated with District 65 in 1974 after a 21-day strike.

Salaries are also an issue in this year's negotiations. Workers in the bargaining unit average only \$15,000 a year, and 75 percent of them are women. The unit covers everyone in the New York office—except supervisory, sales and confidential staff—including editorial, design, promotion, production and clerical workers.

Chester Logan, Harper and Row's vice-president in charge of personnel, characterizes the company's contract with District 65 as "mature," and says that "we can't keep giving more." He points out that "in the outside world, most companies aren't giving any increases at all, and some have even cut pay rates." The pension maneuver, he says, was in the interest of the workers. "It was very important to maintain the company's independence," he said, noting that Harper and Row is the only major publisher not controlled by a conglomerate.

The confrontation at the stockholders' meeting was just the corporate campaign's "opening volley," Krawczyk says. Rogers has already identified the corporate power network behind Harper and Row. "The plan is to force major shareholders, creditors and interlocking institutions to be involved in the conflict by embarrassing them to the point where it is no longer profitable for them to rubber-stamp the bad decisions of top management," Rogers explains.

Insurance companies are among the campaign's key targets. Harper and Row Chairman Knowlton sits on the Board of the Equitable Life Assurance Company, and is up for re-election there this December. The Prudential Insurance Co. is a primary creditor to Harper and Row, and was named as a co-defendant in the pension lawsuit. Since both companies are owned by the policyholders and both manage large union pension funds, the potential leverage of the union is substantial. Rogers has begun distributing survey forms to District 65 members to identify policyholders and is preparing to enlist the help of other unions as well.

—Ruth Milkman



Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

## Kucinich returns to city hall with comeback council win

CLEVELAND—Former Mayor Dennis Kucinich re-entered Cleveland city politics on August 9 by easily winning a special election for a City Council seat in the near east side ward where he grew up and attended school. The first non-Polish politician to ever represent Cleveland's Ward 12, Kucinich replaced Councilman Joseph Kowalski, who died May 12.

Ward 12 voters, 80 percent of them Polish, supported Kucinich when he was first elected to City Council at age 23. The ward's old world voters were there again when he ran for mayor and when he led the drive to save Cleveland's municipal utility. Kucinich carried Ward 12 during the recall campaign of 1978 and when he ran against current Mayor George Voinovich in 1979 he carried the ward by a two-to-one margin.

Kucinich's campaign got a boost when a secret memo detailing the plans of the city's top corporations to derail Kucinich's comeback bid was released. The "only strategy to defeat Kucinich," the report concluded, was to convince another main contender to drop out of the race and to concentrate "all available resources on a single candidate," Edward W. Rybka. Rybka, a savvy young attorney and one-time Republican, was raised in the plush suburb of Pepper Pike. He moved into Ward 12 in 1981 to challenge Councilman Kowalski in a vicious campaign.

The race was acrimonious. Council President George Forbes, long-time Kucinich antagonist, entered the fray with a lunchtime speech to a business club in which he pledged, "There are a lot of people at City Hall waiting to screw Dennis Kucinich and I'll be the first in line." Kucinich ignored the personal attacks and continued going door to door every

night, talking about his program of increased neighborhood safety and more city services, and his years of experience at City Hall. Kucinich won 53 percent of the primary vote, leading the field of eight candidates; Attorney Rybka won the runoff slot with 25 percent.

The primary victory showed Kucinich's strength in the ward. Yet Mayor Voinovich, the most powerful Republican in the state and a potential gubernatorial candidate in 1986, did not learn the political lesson. Voinovich, claiming credit for bringing Cleveland back into the bond market for the first time since the city's default, blamed Kucinich's primary victory for the city's failure to improve its bond market ratings. Voinovich went on to endorse Rybka's candidacy, pouring thousands of dollars into the campaign, taking full page ads in a neighborhood newspaper and sending two separate mailings to Ward 12 voters. City workers campaigned for Rybka, who joined the mayor in threatening that services to Ward 12 would be cut off if an "uncooperative, confrontational and destructive" councilman like Kucinich was elected. The strategy didn't work.

Many new and old issues face City Council in the next two years. Public subsidies for downtown development, tax increases and utility rate hikes are just a few. Right to know legislation will be introduced in the council this fall by labor unions and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign. The next two years will tell if Kucinich and his council allies, including Jay Westbrook and brother Gary Kucinich, can ignite a political movement to seriously challenge the dominance of corporate power in Cleveland.

—Rob Bauman

## THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE



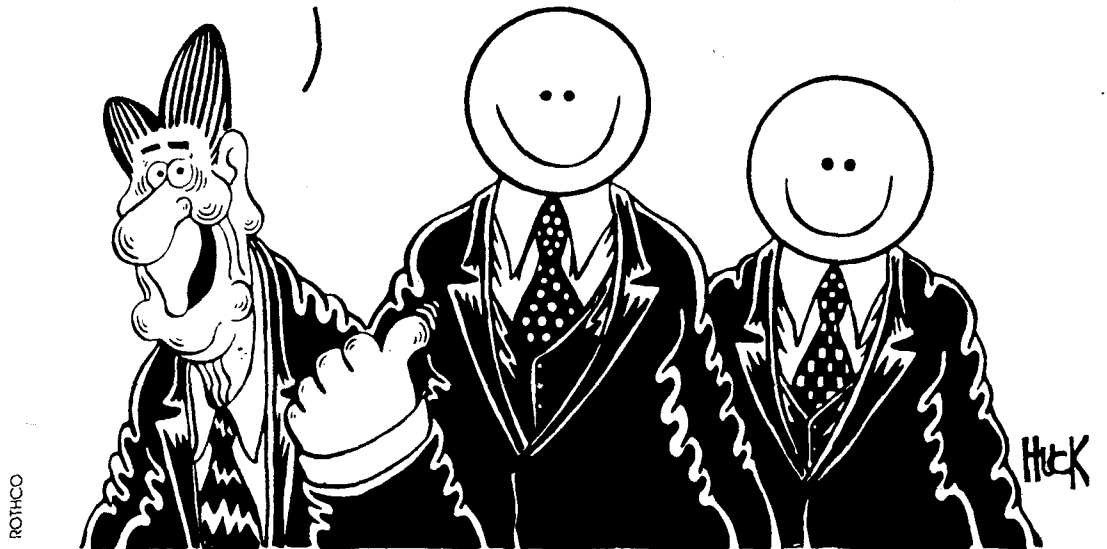
DEMOCRAT

# KUCINICH

VOTE:

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9th

## MY ECONOMIC ADVISORS ASSURE ME OF A BRIGHT ECONOMIC FUTURE!!



## Briefing: Global storm clouds menace recovery

NEW YORK—The Reagan administration's optimistic economic forecasts are being challenged by non-partisan experts who, it might be said, are warning that every silver lining has a cloud. Recent reports from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United Nations show an already slow global recovery being threatened by international debts and American fiscal deficits. These reports command attention because, unlike Reagan's advisors and experts, neither the IMF, the World Bank nor the UN is burdened with the political baggage of a presidential re-election campaign.

In addition to questioning the soundness of the recovery, all three reports emphasize the need for more cooperative global economic development. They point out that the rich and the poor nations are linked, and that long-term prosperity cannot be achieved unless the needs of both groups are addressed. If the reports, particularly those from the IMF and the World Bank, have a nervous tone, it may reflect their authors' well-founded fears about the looming bankruptcy of a number of major Third World debtor nations. The Third World collectively owes the industrial nations \$750 billion; default or bankruptcy would threaten the economic stability of rich and poor alike.

Unfortunately, there are no indications that the Reagan administration has taken such warnings seriously. One high-ranking American diplomat brushed aside notions that the international economic system needs a major overhaul, calling the lingering global depression "a short-term problem," for which "no drastic proposals are needed."

In an eerie replay of the late '60s and '70s, U.S. policy makers have sustained our domestic economy by exporting debt. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker recently called it an "irony" that the

recovery in the U.S., the world's largest economy, has been financed by vast imports of foreign capital seeking out our high real interest rates. It has proven to be a very expensive, short-sighted policy. The inflow of capital helped bring on an international debt crisis by drying up money that was once available to developing countries. Scarce money has kept real interest rates high in Europe and the Third World, delaying or preventing their economic recovery.

What of the future? The IMF World Economic Outlook, released at the beginning of summer, forecasts "a modest but significant improvement in the international economic climate" in 1983-84, but finds the long-term picture cloudy. In a world where recovery depends on the U.S., current administration economic policy is focused on a peak performance target date in late 1984, with little thought being given beyond that. The IMF suggests that federal budget deficits and the attendant increase in government debt could kill the recovery both here and abroad by keeping real interest rates high and soaking up the funds the private sector needs to sustain economic growth.

The United Nations' World Economic Survey was more damning. According to that report, the recovery is expected to be "sputtering and uncertain." The World Economic Survey backs up the charge, pointing out that the global economy may grow by only 2 percent in 1983, hampered by low rates of investment. This, incidentally, is far less than the growth rate the Reagan administration itself has said is needed to insure long-term recovery.

The World Bank, in its "World Development Report 1983," emphasizes global interdependence. While refraining from making specific forecasts, the World Bank warns, "There is a danger that continued recession in developing

countries will undermine the pace of economic recovery" in the U.S. It calls for restoration of private and public assistance to the Third World, to ease the debt crisis and fuel economic development. The report points out that the recession has been most severe in those countries that can least afford it. For example, plummeting commodity prices mean that in the African countries that supply commodities to industrialized nations, "there is now a real possibility that per capita income will be lower by the end of the '80s than it was in the '60s."

The recent administration move to increase the U.S. IMF contribution by \$8.4 billion is simply an elaborate "bail-out" of Western banks, as the IMF would re-lend these funds to Third World countries to insure continued debt payments. While debt relief or restructuring is crucial, real development aid is more important.

The non-aligned nations have proposed a Bretton Woods-type conference to develop a so-called New International Economic Order. In less radical terms, the IMF and the UN reports say future growth will depend on developing effective economic policies to control fiscal deficits, reduce real interest rates, stabilize exchange rates and curb protectionism. The World Bank agrees, noting that whatever the state's role as producer or owner, "its role as regulator is everywhere of prime importance in establishing incentives."

Unfortunately these various recommendations require government intervention in the market, and the U.S. has made no serious attempt to implement such policies. Key members of the Reagan administration—Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, economic advisor Martin Feldstein and others—prefer to read the Dow-Jones averages and contemplate reports showing rising sales of cars and homes. Yet much of the nation's economic activity is simply a record of corporate restocking of inventories, and many of the economic indicators are subject to manipulation by Washington to create the illusion of recovery.

—Josh Martin





By Alex Kotlowitz

DES MOINES, IA

**O**N AUGUST 13, PRESIDENTIAL aspirant Sen. Alan Cranston strode into the small conference room at this city's Savery Hotel. Fifteen or so political action committee board members seated around the white-clothed table greeted him with applause. The conservative-looking, mostly middle-aged group included a state legislator, Methodist minister, farmer and former civil defense director from Muscatine, Iowa. Cranston thanked them for their endorsement, winding his way around the room, shaking hands and stopping to chat briefly with each board member.

Given Iowa's first-in-the-nation primary caucuses, this courtship ritual in America's heartland did not at first appear unusual—except that the political action committee making the presidential endorsement may be the first statewide PAC devoted solely to the issue of disarmament. The candidates actively sought STAR\*PAC's (Stop the Arms Race) support. (STAR\*PAC hopes to raise \$25,000, but more importantly has a 3,000-person mailing list that it can make available to its endorsed candidate.) Before the conference, Cranston

IOWA

## IN THE NATION

*Alan Cranston may have the most to gain if peace groups gain political clout.*

tions—few differences between them. Only Cranston called for a decrease in defense spending. Glenn received some hisses and boos when, in explaining his recent vote for production of binary nerve gas, he said, "The most effective deterrent to chemical weapons is to have our own." (Cranston was not questioned about his support of the B-1 bomber.) Said one Iowan voter, "They all said what we wanted to hear, but it was good to hear it anyway."

### Back to basics.

While the candidates' forum received the crowds' and the media's attention, it was the events preceding and following the forum that may hold the key to the peace movement's success in the 1984 presidential elections. The morning workshops at the conference focused on organizing what has come to be known as the "peace majority." (A recent Harris poll found that 79 percent of the electorate favors a U.S.-negotiated freeze with the Soviets.)

At one of the better-attended sessions, 100 people—from farmers to school-teachers and even a sprinkling of Republicans—learned the nuts and bolts of power-brokering in the upcoming Feb-

In Iowa, the group PEACE will continue to operate out of Sioux City with two full-time staff persons, helping local peace leaders build support for disarmament delegates in their precincts. But PEACE does not intend to endorse a particular candidate.

"There has been a lot of ambivalence on the part of freeze people toward electoral politics," said Carla Johnston, who as a board member of the new national freeze PAC flew in from Boston for Saturday's conference. "I think there's always a place for civil disobedience and demonstrations, but when talking about trying to get a [political] majority, people get scared."

Some STAR\*PAC members, in fact, were reluctant to endorse Cranston for fear that in a couple of months he might "fall flat on his face" and because of his vote for the B-1 bomber. Said an exasperated STAR\*PAC chairperson Charles Day to his fellow board members, "All liberal groups stand back and talk and debate and don't act. If one candidate stands head and shoulders above the others, let's endorse him." An hour later, the group voted to endorse Cranston.

### Impact in '84.

While these may be the growing pains of a movement whose numbers and ensuing political strength have surprised even itself, there are indications that nuclear freeze and disarmament supporters are looking hungrily at the 1984 elections. On August 13-14, while Iowan arms control supporters kicked off their state's primary free-for-all, the national Nuclear Freeze Campaign held a political training institute in St. Louis for 80 freeze supporters from more than 40 states. They were taught the ABCs of electoral politics, including lessons on registering voters, phone banking and getting out the vote. And the Washington-based Citizens Against Nuclear War, which helped with the organizing of the Des Moines conference, is putting together similar educational forums in other states.

Two years ago, it would have been possible to argue that what the peace movement lacked in political savvy it made up for in numbers. But that's no longer true. Presently, the movement is gaining in both political sophistication and numbers. And the strongest sign that arms control will be a central issue in next year's presidential elections is the fact that the Democratic candidates attended the peace forum in Des Moines.

Rep. Bedell, who, like all Iowans, is acutely aware of the prominent role they play in not only selecting the candidates but in setting the political agenda, concluded the conference by telling those in attendance: "Over the next six months you and I will be writing the nation's headlines."

Alex Kotlowitz is a regular contributor to National Public Radio's two news programs.

# Peace as a primary issue

and former Iowa Senator John Culver, on behalf of Walter Mondale, had personally wooed board members, and Sen. John Glenn's Iowa campaign director lunched last week with some STAR\*PAC board members. These activities indicate that the disarmament movement may play a prominent role in the selection of a Democratic presidential candidate. Said STAR\*PAC member Bob Brammer, "We're putting peace into politics."

STAR\*PAC's endorsement of Cranston came on the heels of the August 13 day-long conference and candidate forum on arms control at Des Moines' Civic Center. Sponsored by a newly formed Iowa group called PEACE (People Encouraging Arms Control Efforts), which was founded by Rep. Berkley Bedell, the forum, geared to making arms control a major issue in selecting a Democratic presidential candidate, was the first of its kind in the nation.

Supported by local church groups, unions and community organizations, the conference may signify a new persona for a movement better known for its adeptness at turning out demonstrators than at turning out the votes. Until last November's elections—when some national peace political action committees campaigned for certain congressional

candidates (and possibly making the difference in two congressional races: Democrat Bob Carr in Michigan and Democrat Peter Kostmayer in Pennsylvania)—the peace movement had shied away from electoral politics.

"We're going through a transitional process. Some people are realizing that the peace movement is a powerful political force," said Mark Belkin, one of four conference organizers. "We are now a mainstream movement and that calls for newer approaches than when we just had to keep our small band together."

The day's star event was the afternoon candidate forum that attracted 2,000 people, 125 journalists and four candidates, Cranston, Glenn, Mondale and Sen. Gary Hart. Senator Ernest Hollings had to cancel at the last minute because of the sudden death of his infant granddaughter, and Reubin Askew had a longstanding commitment to grand marshal the Shrine Parade in Hanover, N.H. It was the first time that the Democratic candidates appeared under the same roof in Iowa—a testimony perhaps to the growing strength of the disarmament movement.

While the four candidates used the occasion to lambast President Reagan's nuclear and Central American policies, there were—with some notable excep-

ruary caucuses, the first step in selecting Iowa's national delegates. And while no overall strategy was discussed, the chair of the Polk County Democratic Party walked workshop participants through a mock Iowa caucus. They were divided into four presidential preference groups and taught how to bargain for delegates, even learning how to mathematically calculate their candidate's support.

Explained one participant who had been active for Eugene McCarthy in 1968: "During my first experience at a caucus, the blood rolled. We didn't know what we were doing. I've learned some lessons. I'm going to seek out people who feel the same way and do some planning ahead of time."

But one problem peace groups face is that their non-profit, tax-exempt status prohibits them from endorsing candidates. Thus, political action committees such as STAR\*PAC have been established specifically to help circumvent that barrier. In fact, supporters of the national freeze campaign are in the process of setting up an as-yet-unnamed political action committee that conceivably could throw its support behind one candidate. And a number of PACs—the Council for a Liveable World's Peace-PAC, SANEPAC and Friends of the Earth PAC—are already in place.



By Valerie Ellis  
and Shelley Anderson

ROMULUS, N.Y.

**"M**Y DAD WORKED there 30 years. I've been here all my life and it has never really come into my mind until the women came here," says gas station owner Robert Steele. "But it still doesn't change my mind about the Depot or nuclear weapons."

Milly Todd, another Romulus resident, says of the women's peace camp here, "I'm dead-set against them. They don't believe in the flag or in church.... We need nuclear weapons. What makes people think that if we do away with ours the Russians will do away with theirs?"

Steele and Todd's attitudes are similar to those of many of this town's 2,000 residents. The small hamlet is sandwiched between the 11,000-acre Seneca Army Depot and the 52-acre Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, which opened on July 4. At issue for camp participants is the deployment scheduled for December of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe and, specifically, the storage of nuclear weapons at the Depot. But for Romulus residents, the issues are Communism, witchcraft and lesbians.

"There is good documentation of the presence of nuclear weapons at the Seneca Army Depot (SEAD) that has been confirmed by Congress members, congressional reports and the Center for Defense Information in Washington," says camp organizer Kris Eberlein. "It's indisputable that the Depot is a nuclear capable facility. They've admitted that. It's also clear in their personnel handbooks that several of the job descriptions relate specifically to nuclear weapons."

Evidence that the Depot houses nuclear weapons was first uncovered by Rochester journalist Mark Hare in October, 1981. His articles traced the Depot's history from 1944, when radioactive waste from the Manhattan Project was stored there, to 1961, when the Depot became the East Coast distribution point for nuclear weapons to be stored both in the U.S. and abroad.

The local Finger Lakes Peace Alliance (FLPA) was organized to protest the storage of nuclear weapons at the Depot and to encourage its conversion to non-nuclear production. The Depot could be more easily converted than most nuclear weapons facilities because the machines it houses rebuild weapons.

## "Homophobia" is responsible for most of locals' complaints.

Since the camp opened, FLPA has leafletted Depot employees and has tentatively supported the camp since it opened this summer. But the camp's endorsement of civil disobedience and direct action worries many FLPA members, who are concerned that the camp has already jeopardized their long-term peace work in this conservative community.

Modeled after camps throughout Europe, the idea for the Peace Encampment originated at a Global Feminism conference held in New York City during last year's June 12 disarmament rally. In order to avoid the evictions women at Greenham Common face every few months, organizers bought an old farm that borders the Depot.

### Life at the farm.

Although each day differs at the peace camp, most participants divide their time between workshops, chores around the camp and actions, which range from simple prayer vigils to large acts of civil disobedience. For example, the morning of July 21, 64 women were detained for chaining themselves to the truck gate



## SENECA DEPOT

# Peace camp draws wrath of locals

fence. They were a part of a 120-woman contingent from Minnesota that included nuns, young lesbian-feminists and a 20-month old baby. The next day ended with a shabbat service in front of the main gate, conducted by 40 Jewish women from Rochester, N.Y. Since the camp opened, almost 2,000 women have come, some staying for a day and others planning to spend the summer here.

Small actions have included individual expressions of resistance such as a woman tearing her husband's army uniform into strips and hanging it on the Depot fence. Other women have placed at the fence photographs, poems, baby shoes, jewelry and other mementos of what they would lose in a nuclear war. Because of these actions, more than 90 women received letters warning that they risk fine or arrest if they re-enter the base.

Local reaction has not been favorable and the press has fueled outsiders' fears with sensationalized accounts of lesbians and witches at the camp.

"I think the number one complaint of the community is homophobia," says Kate Wolff of Burlington, Vt. "The response of the community has done a complete reversal. The community was extremely supportive before all the les-



Women displayed mementos of what they would lose in nuclear war.

bians arrived. Whenever a radical element is involved, they're the ones that become visible. This has hurt the camp's effectiveness, but it's also an unavoidable consequence. One of the camp's weaknesses is not making connections between the Depot and Nicaragua, patriarchy and lesbian rights."

Relations have also been strained because of the camp's refusal to fly an American flag on July 4. A community member offered the camp a flag in order to allay fears in the town about "what kind of folks might be down at the camp." But camp organizers declined, saying that an American flag would not

IN THESE TIMES AUGUST 24-SEPTEMBER 6, 1983 7  
be an appropriate symbol for the camp because it is intended to be an international statement in solidarity with the European peace movement.

Bad feelings intensified July 30 when more than 500 local residents blockaded a women's peace walk in Waterloo, a nearby town. Angry counter-demonstrators shouted "Commies" and "Lezzies go home" while 120 women sat in the road unable to move in any direction. Fifty-four of the participants were arrested for "disorderly conduct," although a permit had been granted for the walk. But after being detained for five days at a nearby school, all the charges against the women were dropped.

Some local residents are also angry because the camp has cost Seneca County \$10,000 in overtime pay and equipment for local sheriffs to protect the women. An estimated \$100,000 will have been spent on police protection when the camp closes Labor Day.

Depot officials have been increasing security measures, too. Security guards, usually numbering 250, now number more than 800. Security includes regular helicopter patrols over the women's camp, razor wire around fences to thwart entry and new watch towers at the Depot.

Much of this was in preparation for the August 1 demonstration, when 2,000 women from across the country marched from nearby Sampson State Park to the Depot's truck gate. Despite attempts by local officials to prevent the rally at the park, the women marched the mile-and-a-half route as planned. Because of the tensions caused by the July 30 arrests, a state of emergency was declared in Seneca County, with the assistance of former Congresswoman Bella Abzug. This made it possible for other county and state police to provide additional security for the participants.

The counter-demonstration and rumors of violence August 1 made extra security necessary. Approximately 150 counter-demonstrators, waving American flags and carrying signs like "Commies Go Home," were separated by state police from the women's demonstration.

The women decorated almost one-half mile of fence with mementos. Singing "America the Beautiful," they marched to the Depot gate and began climbing over the fence. More than 200 were eventually detained by military police.

Despite the controversies surrounding the camp, most of the women say they believe they've succeeded in what they set out to do. The camp has received international press coverage, women have made connections with European peace leaders—telegrams of support have come from Czechoslovakia, Holland, Italy and England—and many people in upstate New York have for the first time become aware of the nuclear weapons in their backyard.

Camp participants are still planning what will happen to the land after Labor Day. Some have suggested turning it into a shelter for battered women; others want to continue the camp's efforts. Whatever is decided, "the peace camp is making changes on so many levels," says organizer Chris Mangan. "Whether or not people agree with us, we're calling into question what is going on at the Depot." ■

Valerie Ellis and Shelly Anderson spent several weeks at the Women's Peace Encampment.





## LABOR



# AT&T strike poses tactics question

By Dan La Botz

CHICAGO

**M**ORE THAN 95 PERCENT of the workers are on strike, and yet more than 95 percent of the phone calls are going through in what has been called a "post-industrial" strike against American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T). The 675,000 telephone workers who struck at midnight on August 6 were joined on August 14 by 40,000 workers at AT&T's Western Electric production plants, but with nearly three-quarters-of-a-million workers walking out in the first strike in 12 years, most phone calls went through—automatically. The unexpected strike was called by the unions when the company refused to

meet demands for higher pay and asked for contract concessions in the areas of health benefits. The company also wants to create a new "service assistant" position that would be paid only 65 percent of the wages of workers now doing the same job. Workers want a three-year contract with the \$155 billion corporation, which will be broken up into eight regional companies on January 1, 1984.

Workers are represented by the Communications Workers of America (CWA) with 650,000 members, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) with 140,000 members and the Telecommunications International Union with 50,000 members. As *In These Times* went to press, formal contract talks had resumed.

Ed Disch, spokesperson for District 5 CWA, said, "Less than three percent of

the people in our district of Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana are crossing picket lines." John Ryan, president of Local 4309, the largest CWA local in Ohio, reported that "99 percent of our members are on strike, and our members are picketing."

Yet AT&T reports that 97 percent of all calls are dialed directly and handled by automatic equipment. The company has assigned supervisors to work at the 10,000 central-equipment offices across the country, where they are working 12-hour days, six days a week. In Illinois, for example, 9,500 managers are doing the work of the 23,000 union employees, such as operator assisted information and person-to-person calls and equipment maintenance.

While the immediate effects of the strike are not too apparent to most customers, morale is high among most union members. "The strike is definitely affecting the company," according to Ryan. "It's affecting computers and other installations."

Greg Sanders, a steward of the small Commercial Telephone Workers Union Local 633 on the picket line in Chicago told *In These Times*, "A lot of people don't understand about the phone company. They've got their hand in a lot of other things: alarm circuits, TV transmissions, teletype, data, WATTS." The strike, he said, is hurting those services.

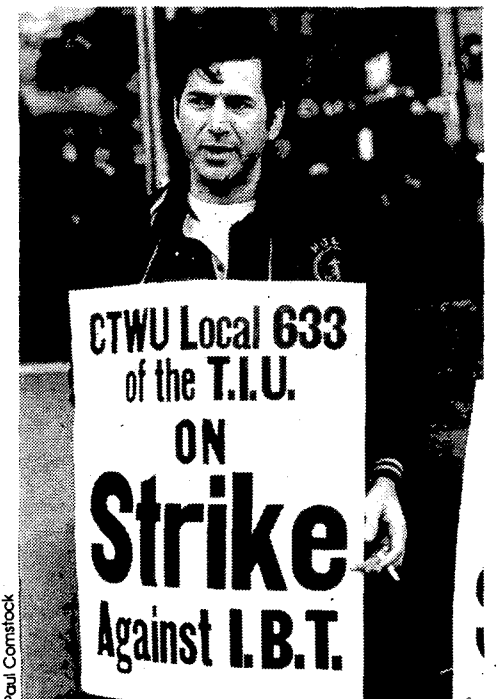
"I handle radio broadcasting for all the radio stations in Illinois—voice-couplers and head-sets for broadcasting and telephone lines for broadcast," said Tony Mangano, a service representative and another Local 633 member. Without him, Mangano said, radio stations won't get those services, at least not from Bell.

While most strikers are confident their strike is badly hurting the company, others had their doubts. Susan Greene, a cable splicer and member of the IBEW in Chicago, said, "A strike in this day and age is not an effective tool. Everything is computerized now. It is true they can make it without us for an indefinite period of time."

Greene believes the unions should have considered an organized slowdown. "A

slowdown would have been hard to organize," she conceded, "but it's really still possible in some jobs—though in others it wouldn't have been possible because they're so effectively monitored." In any case, "the old '30s tactics are no longer useful," she added.

Frustration with the lack of visible results from the strike may have led some workers to take their tactics not from the '30s but from the teens and '20s—a throw-back to the sabotage and direct action of the Industrial Workers of the World, the IWW. There have been many reports of vandalism of Bell equipment—particularly the cutting of cables—in Miami, Detroit, Chicago and other cities. With dozens of incidents in the Cook and



Can a conventional strike succeed against a computerized company?

DuPage counties, the Illinois Bell Telephone Company offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to conviction.

The union has condemned the sabotage. Disch of CWA District 5 said, "CWA has a policy of peaceful picketing. We do not condone any violence." At

Continued on page 10

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| <p>8. Not Everybody Can Love This Country<br/>9. Question Authority<br/>11. Better Active Today Than Racist Tomorrow<br/>12. Eat the Rich<br/>16. Mutants for Nuclear Power<br/>18. I am a Shamless Avarice<br/>20. Minds are like Parachutes — They Only Function When Open<br/>48. People Before Profits<br/>56. Go Reds — Smash State<br/>57. Impeach Reagan<br/>64. Sure, I'm a Marxist (see T-Shirt graphic)<br/>67. We Are Not Amused<br/>72. We Are Everywhere<br/>73. The Moral Majority is Neither<br/>74. U.S. Out of North America<br/>77. Bread and Bombs (see T-Shirt graphic)<br/>81. Unemployed<br/>83. Why do we kill people who kill people to show people that killing people is wrong?<br/>84. Nuclear War — can spoil your whole day<br/>86. If I Can't Dance... I Don't Want to be Part of Your Revolution (see T-Shirt graphic)</p> | <p>87. I Read Banned Books<br/>88. Wearing Buttons is Not Enough<br/>89. If I Shall Continue to be an Impossible Person so long as those who are now possible remain possible — Bakunin<br/>90. Don't Presume to Straighten<br/>95. Women Make Policy not Coffer<br/>96. Every Mother is a Working Mother<br/>98. My Karma ran over my Dogma<br/>102. If you've seen one nuclear war you've seen them all (with 2 cockroaches and rubble graphic)<br/>103. The Future is in Our Hands (see T-Shirt graphic)<br/>106. Teach Peace<br/>107. You Can't Hug a Child with Nuclear Arms<br/>108. If The People Lead, Eventually The Leaders Will Follow<br/>109. All We Are Saying is Give Peace a Chance<br/>110. Military Intelligence is a Contradiction in Terms<br/>111. If You Think The System is Working Ask Someone Who Isn't<br/>114. Nuke a Gay Whale for Christ<br/>115. Nuclear Free Zone</p> |
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By Diana Johnstone

SOUTHERN FRANCE

**L**ARZAC FARMERS, WHOSE battle to keep their land from being taken over by an encroaching military base was a *cause celebre* of the '70s, chose the Hiroshima weekend of August 6-7 to try to plant the seeds of a new French peace movement on their rocky plateau here in southern France.

On the 38th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, an array of small peace groups met at the impressive Rajal Del Guorp ("crows' amphitheater") rock formation in the most barren stretch of Larzac prairie. In this unlikely and symbolic setting, under a blazing summer sun, a French freeze movement was launched.

About 20,000 people came and went during the two days. There were forums on the prospects of the European movement opposing Euromissile deployment, the possibilities of a freeze movement in France in relation to the myth of French nuclear independence, alternatives to nuclear defense and the problem of emancipation of peoples confronted with the two blocs.

Pierre Burguiere—who 12 years ago signed the "oath of the 103" farmers vowing to stay on and fight to preserve Larzac from militarization—announced a campaign to collect 103,000 signatures by this autumn for a new oath. It reads: "I commit myself to act against the nuclear arms race which is developing in Europe, in the East and the West, in which my country France is participating, regardless of the reasons cited to justify it today."

Larzac farmers are stubborn, Burguiere explained proudly. Indeed, they seem especially so today, when most other '70s French movements have evaporated. Their own battle to preserve their land ended victoriously two years ago, when newly elected Socialist President Francois Mitterrand cancelled the order to extend the Larzac military base. But they continue to feel bonded to others struggling for the shared values they found underlying their long battle for their land: peace, ecology, antimilitarism and food for the hungry, especially in the Third World.

The Larzac gathering for a nuclear freeze was sponsored by the Larzac Peasants association, the Christian Rural Youth Movement, the Unified Socialist Party (PSU) and the French Nuclear Disarmament Committee (CODENE), a coordinating committee representing a long list of pacifist, antimilitarist, ecological and more or less libertarian left groups, each one smaller than the next.

They are united—but not very—in their opposition to the nuclear arms race and their strong hostility toward the French Communist Party (PCF), as well as toward the Mouvement de la Paix, the established peace movement that they dismiss as a PCF front. They hope that the people who agree to sign the new Larzac oath may start to organize a new and truly independent peace movement.

#### A case apart.

Meanwhile, France remains the basket case of the European peace movement, and much of the discussion in the four sun-baked Larzac forums either tried to explain or inadvertently illustrated what was wrong.

There was general agreement that the biggest obstacle was the left government's endorsement of the Gaullist myth of French nuclear independence. Hamburg researcher Harald Schultz pointed out that France has no early warning system of its own, that it is "blind" to eventual Soviet attack and depends wholly on NATO. The claim that France is a member of the NATO alliance but independent of it makes no sense, Schultz said. The forum devoted to that subject concluded that France was "independent in peace but aligned in war."

While it may seem of no consequence in the U.S., the Williamsburg Summit leaders' endorsement of the Reagan administration's concept of indivisible glob-

al security has been a real eye-opener in Europe, revealing the extent of European subservience to American demands. Larzac farmer Alain Desjardin asked if "maybe we didn't overestimate the government's room for action and autonomy on those questions." Thus, the myth of French independence may be beginning to crack under heavy U.S. pressure. But the second obstacle to a strong French peace movement looks much harder to break down: the division and demoralization of the French left. This is baffling to

the French Communist Party tends to feed anti-Sovietism. The majority of French people now appear firmly convinced that the Soviet Union enjoys vast military superiority and may be stopped from overwhelming Western Europe only by American Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles.

The one-sided estimates of Soviet military strength used in the U.S. to extort appropriations from Congress have been propagated by French media without question. Fear of the Russians feeds on



Journalists interview exiled East German pacifist Roland Jahn (with arms crossed).

outsiders who view the two main left parties, Socialist and Communist, as united in government coalition. But their marriage of convenience has in no way diminished a deep rivalry and mutual distrust, and outside the parliamentary left even worse divisions exist in the activist left, with the PCF on one side and the myriad of small groups visible at Larzac on the other.

The multiple and bitter divisions of the French left have enabled the media to keep the French population uniquely ignorant of the great debate on the Euromissiles taking place next door. Whereas in most countries the bad reputation of the USSR rubs off on local Communist parties, in France the taint now seems to work the other way around: hatred for

loathing for the PCF. The result is an anti-Communism that has rapidly been growing into a sort of national psychosis.

In this context, the positions of the non-Communist peace groups tend to be based less on a thorough independent analysis of the situation than on an effort to distinguish themselves from the Communists. This keeps them prisoner of the all too typically French assumption that ideology matters more than information—which is usually inadequate.

The PCF has stuck to simple slogans like "No to Pershing and to SS-20" or "J'aime la paix." Contrary to the widespread assumption that this simplistic stance is dictated by Moscow, the PCF is probably motivated by more selfish considerations: the twin and often contradictory desires to stay in the cabinet and to control whatever peace movement there is.

A few non-Communist members of the Mouvement de la Paix showed up at Larzac to insist that their organization's positions were not dictated by the PCF and were closer to the independents than they realized. Perhaps so, but the PCF itself is doing nothing to overcome the deep distrust its methods inspire. The PCF organ *l'Humanite* did not print one word about the Larzac gathering, which made the front page of most other daily papers.

#### Toward unified action.

At Larzac a number of people admitted the need for eventual unified action, but only after the non-Communist movement asserted and established its independence. The clearest way to set itself apart from the PCF seemed to be to emphasize not the Euromissiles (which the PCF criti-

IN THESE TIMES AUGUST 24-SEPTEMBER 6, 1983 9  
cizes), but the French nuclear force. As a government party, the PCF is discreet on this subject. Of course it is correct, as many speakers put it, to "sweep our own doorstep clean first," and other peace movements would welcome a strong movement in France opposed to French nuclear testing in the Pacific and to the planned "modernization" of France's nuclear arsenal, including the neutron bomb and countless new tactical and strategic warheads.

Yet this emphasis cannot bring the French movement into full harmony with the other European movements that will be demonstrating against Pershing 2 and Cruise missile deployment this fall. The French independent movement does not seem either able or determined to convey to the French public the sense of urgency felt in other countries about the Euromissile deployment. Without that sense of urgency, it is hard to see what will make the movement against the French nuclear forces grow any bigger than it is now—which is to say, insignificant.

After the Larzac meeting was over, it was not clear just what sort of "freeze" was being endorsed. Was it the bilateral negotiated agreement called for by the American freeze movement? Or a unilateral French freeze? This was never clearly defined, perhaps because the dozens of

factions could never have agreed.

But one point on which all the non-Communist peace movement groups agree heartily is support for Solidarity and the various independent Eastern European peace movements. Still recovering from six months in prison in East Germany before being expelled to West Berlin last June, Roland Jahn came to Larzac to ask Western peace movements to help the independent movements in the East. Jahn was active in the group in the city of Jena's attempt to reject the militarization of East Germany.

Jahn said the most helpful thing Western peace movements could do would be to tirelessly seek dialogue with their Eastern counterparts, both official and independent. They should not boycott the official government-supported peace movements, but rather insist on being allowed to have contact with the independent movements as well. There seems to be a general consensus among the Eastern European independents that such pressure from the West—steady and insistent but avoiding hostile polemics—might eventually help open up a space for them.

Jahn said it would be very important for spokespeople of the Eastern peace movements to be allowed to accept invitations to the West to explain what they are doing. As it is, the only Eastern Europeans able to speak in the West for those movements are exiles who are not necessarily representative. It is very difficult to speak for the East German peace movement, Jahn said, because it represents a wide range of viewpoints that have yet to be threshed out to reach some sort of consensus.





# Army

Continued from page 3

systematic massacres and relocation of civilians living in the areas of guerrilla activity.

The carnage was unprecedented, even by Guatemalan military standards. "Never in our history," said the Conference of Catholic Bishops, "has it come to such grave extremes." Young officers in the field calmly described the pacification policy: troops would enter a village, kill those who ran and assemble the people who were left. Then they would torture some suspected guerrilla collaborators and some villagers chosen at random while killing others who the torture victims had named as collaborators. Afterward, the army would bomb the village and move the survivors to camps that were under army control.

"Although civilian men of all ages have been shot in large numbers," an Americas Watch mission reported in May 1983, "women and children are particular victims; women are routinely raped before being killed; children are smashed against the walls, choked, burned alive or murdered by machete or bayonet."

After President Reagan met with Rios Montt in December 1982 and declared that Guatemala had been getting "a bum rap" on human rights, Rios Montt told reporters, "We have no scorched-

earth policy. We have a policy of scorched Communists."

As the rural sweeps proceeded in full fury, bitterness about the young officers' usurpation of power took a back seat to the business at hand. Organizing the killing of so many people was a time-consuming job (a task overseen by Rios Montt's defense minister, General Mejia Victores). In addition, thanks to Rios Montt's persona, the army was enjoying the rare gift of occasionally positive comments from international press (particularly *Time*, *Newsweek* and the *Los Angeles Times*) beguiled by the president's eccentricities, his talk of reform and the army's practice of feeding and housing people whose villages it had just destroyed.

After the sweeps were completed in October and early November of 1982 (thereafter followed by selective massacres in key areas), the activity and excitement receded and barracks politics came to the fore. In the months leading up to the August 8 coup, senior officers and civilian politicians grew increasingly alarmed by the young officers' flaunting of authority and Rios Montt's open disdain for the army and the oligarchy's traditional electoral process. From the start, both Rios Montt and the young officers publicly denounced "corrupt civilians," in one case decrying an alleged Lucas-era bribery scheme involving millions of dollars and a majority of the members of Guatemala's congress (which Rios Montt had dissolved on taking office). Rios Montt undermined the traditional political structure by banning

all existing parties and authorizing the formation of new parties by any government-approved group that could gather 4,000 signatures.

This blow at the power base of long-time parties was reinforced by repeated postponements of a new presidential election and Rios Montt's vigorously declared willingness to stay in the palace indefinitely.

## Hacking away.

From the viewpoint of the senior officer's corps, Rios Montt was hacking away at the twin timbers of the political structure that had housed them comfortably for 30 years. On one side, he was dispersing and humiliating their traditional civilian allies—the army's sole source of political legitimacy. On the other side, he was weakening the chain of command—their source of material power. By this June, one general told this reporter, five separate coup plots were being hatched by senior officers.

On the level of strategic politics, Rios Montt had already served his purpose and was quickly becoming a liability to the interests of the army, and the oligarchy and their American allies.

Rios Montt's accomplishments had been formidable: he had restored elite consensus after the Lucas election fiasco, had temporarily set back the guerrillas by decimating their civilian base and had improved—or at least blurred—Guatemala's international image. By this June, however, the guerrillas were in resurgence, the political community was

fracturing again and Rios Montt's impact internationally was as the general who kept postponing elections and who, privately, kept crankily refusing to cooperate with U.S. urgings to play a larger role in Washington's regional strategy.

In the meantime, the young officers were suffering splits in their own ranks. Some had grown disenchanted with what they viewed as arrogant behavior by Captain Munoz Pilona, the military coordinator of the 1982 coup who became Rios Montt's closest army advisor. One group clustered around Lieutenant Lopez Bonilla, a charismatic orator who, at the March 23 ceremony commemorating the anniversary of the 1982 coup, had members of the senior command cringing in their seats with a blazing address on the young officers' determination not to leave the scene until they had saved Guatemala.

On June 29, Rios Montt narrowly survived an attempted coup. General Mejia Victores and General Lopez Fuentes, the army chief of staff, had reportedly decided that the various factions of senior officers were not yet sufficiently united to remove Rios Montt in an orderly and controllable fashion. Several sources claim that on June 29, firefights occurred at the Chimaltenango, National Airport and Mariscal Zavala bases between young officers loyal to Rios Montt and senior officers pressuring him to step down.

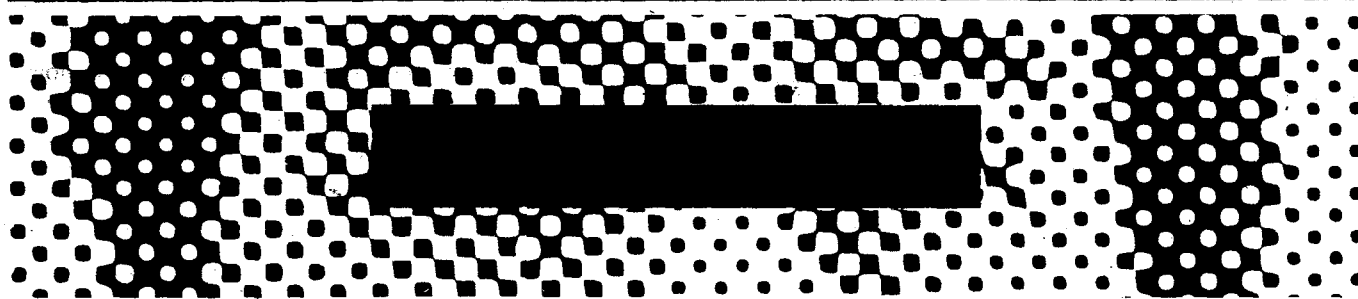
A portent of the young officers' demise came several weeks later, when Lieutenant Mario Pena Perez, a member of the movement who had been rewarded with a position at the Guatemalan consul's office in Los Angeles, was questioned by U.S. federal agents after being detained in Miami carrying an unregistered gun and a briefcase full of documents that, Guatemalan officials say, suggested links to the international arms trade. Pena immediately appealed for intervention from Guatemala City, but no assistance was forthcoming. By that time, his young officer associates were in no position to help.

When Rios Montt finally fell on August 8, helicopters fired on the young officer-dominated Presidential Guard and brief gun fights reportedly again broke out at several bases. There are also reports that several days after the coup, young officers were telling members of the public that elements loyal to Rios Montt were still resisting, politically if not militarily.

Having tasted political power and the scorn of their superiors, the young officers who helped run Guatemala for 17 months have returned to the barracks. How long they will remain there is an open question—one that will go a long way toward determining the vulnerability of one of Latin America's most solid and ruthless armies.

Allan Nairn, a freelance journalist, reports frequently from Guatemala.

# WARNING!



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# AT&T

Continued from page 8

press time no workers or union members had been arrested in connection with the vandalism.

While the union has disassociated itself from the sabotage, it raises an important point. In an age of "post-industrial" micro-chips, computers and robots, the traditional tactics and customary triennial strikes may not be sufficient and new tactics will then have to be developed.

New forms of industrial organizations have always brought new worker responses. Mass production gave rise to the sit-down strike, the flying squad and the mass picket line. The sit-down was considered illegal seizure of the employers' property, but without it the CIO would not have been organized. Likewise, the growth of the public service sector gave rise to the public employee strikes of the '60s and '70s—strikes that are outlawed in most states. Thus, the age of computerization may spawn new forms of illegal—but ultimately effective—labor movement tactics.



# NICARAGUA



IN THESE TIMES AUGUST 24-SEPTEMBER 6, 1983 11

shot at or attacked by mortar while trying to tend rice and bean fields. Authorities in Jalapa estimate that 20 percent of the area's planted fields will go unharvested this year because they are in firing range of the contra camps in Honduras.

Mobilizing large numbers of troops and reservists has also put a strain on the economy. And while labor power is being drained by the military call-up, official unemployment nationwide has still climbed to 19 percent. "We have a severe shortage of raw materials, machinery and spare parts necessary for production," explains Pineda. "You need hard currency to import those items and we have even a greater shortage of dollars."

At least one government economist says that the dollar shortage is what also keeps 60 percent of the economy still in private hands. "We can barely afford to run what we have expropriated already. Any more would be a burden," he says.

As President Reagan was announcing the ongoing Big Pine Two military exercises—which sent 19 warships, 16,000 sailors and 5,600 troops to Central America—the Sandinista leadership proposed a settlement plan for the region that has been ignored by Washington.

Speaking to nearly 200,000 people at the fourth anniversary celebration of the revolution, government leader Daniel Ortega asked the crowd to approve the six-point plan. It calls for an end to outside intervention in Central America, cutting off all foreign military supplies to government and non-government forces in the region, no foreign military bases in the zone, an end to economic discrimination and a non-aggression pact between Nicaragua and Honduras.

One U.S. analyst of Latin American policy visiting Managua concludes that Washington's refusal to respond seriously to the Sandinista proposal means Reagan and his advisors are determined to seek a military solution.

But Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto declares that the U.S. war against Nicaragua has been "a diplomatic, political and military defeat for the Reagan administration." For that reason, says D'Escoto, Nicaragua will continue to seek a political settlement to the conflicts in Central America, but at the same time will continue to prepare for stepped-up U.S. military pressure.

Speaking to a group of visiting Americans, D'Escoto used a second-hand story to illustrate what he called the Reagan administration's inability to understand the Sandinista revolution. "When Reagan visited Latin America," recounted D'Escoto, "a great South American statesman [presumably the president of Venezuela] pulled him aside and said, 'Look, Mr. President, I know these Sandinistas well. Many of them are very young and very idealistic. Some are immature. But they are just crazy enough to mean it when they say Free Homeland or Death.'"

Marc Cooper, news director of KPFA radio in Los Angeles, visited Nicaragua in July.

By Marc Cooper

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

**T**HE NIGHT BEFORE THE Sandinista revolution's fourth anniversary celebration July 19, U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton was spotted at a government-sponsored outdoor songfest. After refusing to stand for the Sandinista Hymn, the ambassador found himself confronted by a small group of U.S. citizens who asked him to explain why the Reagan administration was waging war against Nicaragua. Refusing to deny or confirm the covert war, Quainton said all the U.S. desired from Nicaragua were "free elections and a return to the original project of the revolution."

In those few words, Quainton summed up the platform from which an increasingly bloody war against Nicaragua is being directed. And it's a war with high military and economic costs for Nicaragua. But politically, it is also clear that, as in the case of the Bay of Pigs or the Hanoi bombings, Washington's intransigence is serving to unify and strengthen internal support for the revolutionary government.

Junta member Sergio Ramirez responds angrily to Quainton's justification of U.S. belligerence. The Sandinistas never made "any sort of promise either to the U.S. or to the privileged groups in Nicaragua," Ramirez says. "The only promises we made we made to the country's poor people; the same promises they are now defending with arms in their hands. We believe that the U.S. is the one that should return to its original promise

of liberty and democracy."

The agricultural town of Jalapa, nestled in a fertile valley just a mortar-lob from the Honduran border, is the frontline of the Reagan administration's war against Nicaragua. It's in this roadless town of barely 13,000 people that the full Nicaraguan response to the covert war can best be seen.

The government slogan "All Arms to the People!" is a reality in Jalapa, where the distinction between civilians and military forces has been blurred. The young people of the town, male and female alike, belong to the Popular Militias and carry 30 caliber BZ rifles. The half-dozen cafes that serve Jalapa are filled day and night with teenage members of the Sandinista Youth who have come from Managua on three-month stints to fight on the border and help local farmers rebuild settlements.

The 30-year-old governor of Jalapa, Sergio Lobo, a red-and-black bandana around his neck and a pistol on his hip, says, "The mobilization here...is the silver lining of the attacks against us. If we are invaded, the enemy will have to fight inch by inch, down to the last peasant."

The man directing the war against the Honduras-based "contras," Sandinista Army Commander Rodrigo Gonzalez, writes off the 5,000 insurgents as a force that "in itself does not represent a threat to our revolution." Speculates the commander: "A real invasion will need foreign troops, and they will not be just Honduran troops."

So far the U.S. war against the Sandinistas has cost some 600 Nicaraguan lives, more than half of them civilians, but the real brunt of the attack has been leveled against the economy.

Members of the Sandinista Popular Militia during training maneuvers.

The Sandinistas inherited a bankrupt national treasury from fleeing dictator Anastasio Somoza when they took power in July 1979. Less than two years later, the Reagan administration suspended the modest U.S. economic assistance program. Then early this year the administration terminated some 90 percent of the \$15-million Nicaraguan sugar import quota. This was followed up with U.S. pressure on international lending agencies to deny new credit to Managua.

"The Reaganites no doubt want to do what Nixon and Kissinger did to Chile—make the economy scream," comments one U.S. missionary working in Managua. Nicaraguan urban affairs expert Orlando Pineda estimates the losses due to the covert war at some \$70 million in the last year—\$10 million in Jalapa's tobacco crop alone. Tobacco fields and warehouses have been favorite sabotage targets of the contras. Farmers in the Jalapa region also complain of being



## More fallout from the Pope's visit

the church, even the most radical sectors of it.

In the embattled town of Jalapa, the focus of contra attacks, Catholic priest Ramon Gonzales is less concerned. "I'm not expecting a mass exodus from the church, but yes, the Pope's behavior certainly demystified the hierarchy in

nista government. When he didn't, their cheers turned to jeers.

U.S. Maryknoll nun Peggy Healey says repercussions from the Pope's visit are having a "serious impact" on the religious community in Nicaragua. "It has deepened the split between the 'peoples' church' and the Catholic hierarchy," led by Managua's Bishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, she says. The bishop has recently escalated his criticism of the government, and like the Pope, has yet to issue a statement condemning the violence of the contras.

In response, the pro-government press made Obando y Bravo a frequent target in editorial cartoons. One commonly seen poster around Nicaragua is a photo of the bishop warmly embracing deposed dictator Anastasio Somoza.

One worker at the Central American Historical Institute, a bastion of liberation theology, says the fallout over the Pope's trip is causing problems even within the peoples' church. She says reaction to the Pope's criticism is leading many revolutionary youth to abandon

On another front, months after the Pope's visit to Nicaragua, the Sandinistas are still coping with the church-state conflicts it intensified.

While saying mass to hundreds of thousands of people in downtown Managua, John Paul II was jeered and booed by a sizeable portion of the crowd. Critics of the Sandinista government, as well as most U.S. news reports, claimed the incident was staged to discredit the church.

But Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, himself a Roman Catholic Priest, hotly denies the charge. "I think it was the Pope who was impolite to the Nicaraguan people, not the other way around. You don't go into a house where people are in mourning and not at least offer them your condolences."

Funeral services for 17 Sandinista militia youths killed in battles with U.S.-backed contra forces had been held the day before the Pope's visit, and the crowd greeting the Pope held up signs asking the pontiff to bless the dead and condemn the violence against the Sandi-

the eyes of the faithful," he says.

Gonzalez became visibly angered when asked if the Sandinistas might have invited the Pope to Nicaragua just to set him up for the ensuing demonstration. "Our government spent two full months of petroleum supplies on the logistics of the visit. With our grave economic crisis, there can be no sign of greater good faith."

The conflict between church and state in Nicaragua can be traced back to the inclusion of four Catholic priests into cabinet positions in the revolutionary government. The church hierarchy and the Vatican have been calling on the four to quit either the church or politics.

Foreign Minister D'Escoto contends the Pope committed "an enormous error" during his Nicaragua visit. "When our people began booing, the Pope kept demanding 'Silence! Silence!' You know, it's only been four years since our people lost their fear to speak out. You don't make them your friends when you tell them to shut up, even if you are the Holy Father." —M.C.



Stories: Karen Rosenberg

## The cultural was political

IT'S BEEN 15 YEARS SINCE THE SOLDIERS and tanks of the Warsaw Pact nations pushed silently into Czechoslovakia. The invasion was another '60s political assassination, ending a life of historic significance prematurely. Yet in the case of Czechoslovakia, what was cut short was not just political but cultural life, for the very distinction between culture and politics was blurred in the renaissance that culminated in the Prague Spring.

Today, the intellectual character of the Czech '60s is subject to scorn in much of the Western press. Conventional wisdom compares the Prague Spring to the Polish Solidarity movement and finds the Czech experience wanting, because it was a revolution of the intelligentsia, not the workers. Yet many Polish intellectuals belonged to Solidarity, and if they integrated themselves fairly well into a larger movement, it is partly because they learned from the experience of the Czechs that it is foolish and dangerous to do otherwise.

The Czechoslovak experiment can be seen as a warning to the Poles, but it was also something the Poles could build on. Some of the concepts that Solidarity put forth—independent trade unions with an expanded political role, workers' councils, freedom from censorship—had been attempted in the Czechoslovak context. Looking at the Prague Spring of '68 from the perspective of Solidarity '80-81, there were ways in which, in many respects, the Czechs were ahead of their time.

This avant-garde position isn't surprising given Czech resources: a film industry that had begun soon after the discovery of cinema, a large literate population, the many skilled workers who manufactured the high-quality goods for which Czechoslovakia was famous. (Slovakia, which was less developed, had a somewhat less spectacular harvest in the '60s, but produced some cultural works of great distinction, like the movie *Shop on Main Street*.)

The past was another national treasure. There were some who still remembered the artistic avant-garde of the pre-war First Republic, many more who could recall the optimistic excitement of the immediate post-war period and the energy later released by the thaw following Stalin's death. In the early '60s, this rich cultural history was valued as a potent antidote to the Stalinist political poison.

### Models from the past.

Older, discredited historic figures were re-evaluated. Philosopher Tomas Mas-

aryk, president of the First Republic (founded in 1918 after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy) was reviled as a bourgeois reformist after the Communists seized power in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Masaryk's role in history was systematically diminished until September 1967, when author Jan Prochazka published an article in the writers' union journal, *Literarni noviny*, praising Masaryk's tolerance of differing opinions and respect for democracy. This was read, as it was undoubtedly intended, as an implicit attack on the policies of the Antonin Novotny leadership of Czechoslovakia. Within weeks, Prochazka lost his position as a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and *Literarni noviny* was placed under new editors. But later, the progress of the Prague Spring was evident in the media attention Masaryk finally received and the posthumous popularity he acquired. In March '68, thousands traveled to his grave to celebrate his birthday, while the press published tributes to him.

Another touchstone was Franz Kafka, whose works had been banned in Czechoslovakia, his homeland, in the '50s as examples of pessimistic modernism. Much of the credit for the Czech rehabilitation of Kafka must go to another Prague Jew, Eduard Goldstucker, the nation's foremost scholar of German literature. Goldstucker knew the Kafkaesque state firsthand as an innocent victim of the notorious Slansky purge trial (depicted in Arthur London's *The Confession* and Costa Gavras' movie of the same name). By organizing public exhibitions and lectures about the author of *The Trial*, this Charles University professor was making a subtle political statement. Again, the past was a battering ram against the present.

The fight on Kafka's behalf was also a battle for alternatives to the positive heroes and glorious sunrises of USSR-imported socialist realism. In March '63, when the Writers' Union finally detached the epithet "decadent" from Kafka's name, more than one writer gained legitimacy. There was now room on the literary scene for a young, avant-garde absurdist playwright, Vaclav Havel, who considered himself Kafka's spiritual kin. The year 1963 saw a production of Havel's *The Garden Party*, a nightmarish comedy in which Stalinist officialese and pseudo-humanist platitudes are offered as the only linguistic and political alternatives. The play was a success in West Berlin, Vienna, London and New York, and Czech culture was back on the international stage.

It was back with an ideal: the humanization of man. Czech writers gained worldwide popularity in the '60s largely because they articulated themes with universal appeal. They spoke of resisting alienation and of exploring what authenticity might mean—issues that had relevance outside the Eastern bloc, for Stalinism is not the only dehumanizing social order. For their her-

esy, writers such as Ivan Svitak and Karel Kosik were censured by the Czech Politburo in 1959 and again in 1965—but official attacks only stimulated more interest in their philosophy, at home and abroad.

Like the overwhelming majority in the Czech reform movement, these writers were socialists—but with a special definition of the term. Reading the older Marx in the light of his earlier writings, philosopher Svitak discovered a thinker who valued freedom, play and art as essential—not incidental or expendable—activities.

"The essence of socialism is not the growth of material wealth; it is the full development of man and his liberation," Svitak declared in an anthology called *Socialist Humanism*, edited by Erich Fromm in 1965.

### Examining daily life.

Literature and philosophy were merging. There were poems in Svitak's eccentric and provocative collection of fragments, *The Unscientific Anthropology*, that circulated in manuscript form in Prague before the invasion. Ethics was becoming the main stuff of novels, from Josef Skvorecky's *The Cowards* ('58) in which the liberation of one town from Nazi rule is a less than heroic affair, to Milan Kundera's *The Joke* ('66), which suggests that, in a Stalinist state, innocence is no protection from the law. Philosophers and novelists concurred that daily life—that banal place where nothing significant seems to happen—was precisely the area in which men and women define their moral selves.

The "new wave" of filmmakers were also ready to take a fresh, critical look at society, and much of society was eager to learn what they saw. Film became the popular expression of the spirit of the times, perhaps because it was less associated with daily lies than newspapers, radio and TV. Moreover, it was accessible—a difficult film will generally reach a wider audience than an equally avant-garde novel or poem.

If Czechoslovakia in the '60s was the right time and place to be an author, then perhaps it was even better to be a film *auteur*. Seldom have so many of the leading novelists, playwrights and short story writers of any country become screenwriters—as was the case with Josef Skvorecky, Pavel Kohout, Milan Kundera, Arnost Lustig and Bohumil Hrabal, to name just a few. They raised the level of Czech film culture, attracting the attention of connoisseurs abroad.

In the West, our image of "socialism with a human face" was very likely the vulnerable teenage visage of Hana Brejchova, the star of Milos Forman's *Loves of a Blonde*, or the shy, sensitive countenance of Vaclav Neckar, who played the young railway apprentice looking for intimacy in the midst of war in Jiri Menzel's *Closely Watched Trains*, based on Hrabal's novel of the same name. The

Continued on page 22



## Socialis

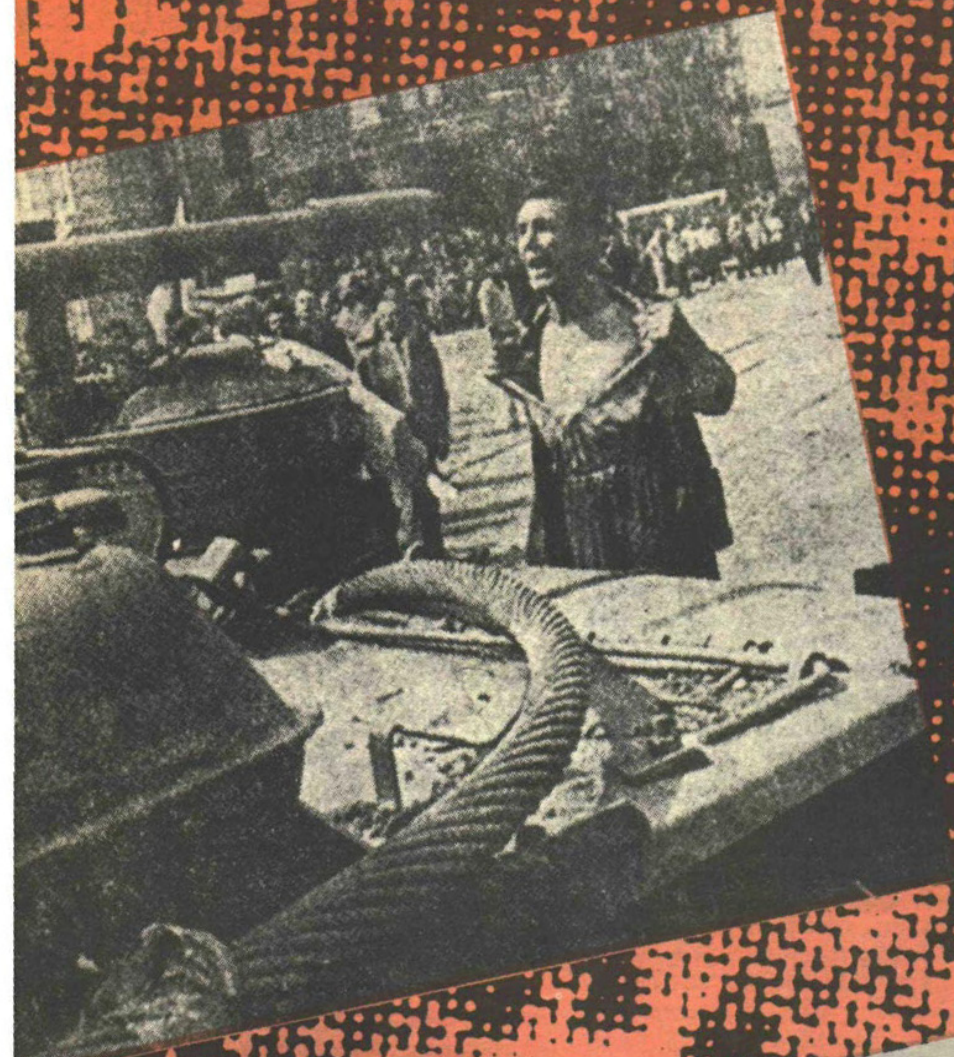
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blow hit not only Western socialism the Prague Spring of a movement from Moscow. Fifteen years longer resources, uncensored councils and popular films. Milos Forman's *Classics* *Man's Best Friend* *Cuckoo* *Hutka*, now the Kundera come to a new M. to a new the B. in C.





# THE AUGUST



A Czechoslovak stands in the path of a Soviet tank; below, a Soviet officer threatens a crowd with his pistol. Both photos were circulated in underground newspapers after the crackdown.

## n's human faces

ISM WITH A HUMAN face got a hard slap in 1968 when Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. The Czechs and Slovaks but who had hoped that was only the beginning for independence and for greater democracy with talk of daring Czech journals, workers' unions. Many of the '60s have left: Milan Kundera, who directed the film *A Woman of a Blonde* and *The Fire Next Time*, and *Ragtime*. Jaroslav Hrabal, who became known for the play *Next Time* and *Ragtime*. Jaroslav Hrabal, who became known for the play *Next Time* and *Ragtime*. Jaroslav Hrabal, who became known for the play *Next Time* and *Ragtime*.

of those who emigrated belong to the early '50s to reformism of the '60s. Pavol Hrbek (known in the U.S. for his play *Poor Murderer*) is a case in point. In 1953 *Rude Pravo*, the Communist Party daily newspaper, published Kohout's eulogy of Stalin that compared the late Soviet leader to the American president. Kohout's turn of phrase came with Khrushchev's 1956 speech that acknowledged many of Stalin's crimes, and he gained popularity as a spokesman for the emerging human-

ism of the '60s.

As the reform movement grew, so did his stature. Kohout used his literary gifts to compose a Message from the Citizens to the Presidium in July '68. Recognizing the danger that faced Czechoslovakia, he urged the nation's leaders to convince Moscow not to interfere. "We are thinking of you. Think of us!" became a slogan the last month before the invasion, as the appeal to the Czech leaders was signed by more than a million citizens.

After the tanks rolled in, he was threatened with a trial, vilified in the press, expelled from the Communist Party. Not only were his plays banned from theaters in Czechoslovakia, Czech actors were forbidden to act in them when abroad. His crime was not just his past but his continued adherence to the values of the Prague Spring. Still a socialist, he criticized the Husak regime for attempting to buy off the population with consumer goods, and he compared the blacklisted veterans of the reform movement to the victims of McCarthyism in the U.S.

Despite harassment, Kohout brought himself into greater conflict with the regime in 1977 by signing a document called Charter 77, calling upon Czechoslovakia to live up to its human rights obligations. Now his car registration and driver's license were confiscated. Still he refused pleas and threats urging him to emigrate; as he said in a 1973 open letter, he wanted to be part of the development of Czech culture. But when in 1979 Kohout exercised his right to exit and enter his homeland at will, taking a job at a Vienna theater, his Czechoslovak citizenship was revoked and he was forbidden to return to Prague.

Since then the human rights movement has gone through many more rounds of

repression. Rudolf Battek's case, which commanded international attention in 1980 and 1981, shows another current in the dissident community. A non-Communist sociologist, Battek had been an active member of the Club of the Non-Party Engages (known as KAN) formed in '68 to speak to and for the four-fifths of the nation that was not in the Party. (At the end of June '68, it was said to have about 2,000 members). Though not a political party, it advocated democratic and humanistic socialism, secret ballots and multi-party elections. It might have become a political party itself if history had not taken a very different turn. Even after August, Battek attempted to take part in the political life of his nation. He was elected to the Czech National Council, but was soon expelled and jailed for 13 months for signing a Ten Points Manifesto on the first anniversary of the invasion challenging "normalization." Released from prison, he found that he, like many Prague Spring veterans, could not be employed in intellectual or political work, only as manual laborers—in his case, as a window washer.

Charter 77 contains a number of independent socialists, some of whom, like Battek, favor political pluralism in Czechoslovakia and identify themselves with the Socialist International. As a civil rights group, and not a political organization, the Charter has been able to accommodate diverse socialist tendencies as well as Christian humanists. A parallel organization is more explicitly political: the Committee to Defend the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS), founded in '78. Modeled after the Polish Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR), VONS aids victims of repression by recording violations of law and following political cases. To the government, Battek's participation in VONS, as well as his letters to members of the Socialist International,

were evidence of the charge of subversion brought against him in 1980-81. Suffering from chronic asthma, he was found guilty in a closed trial and sentenced to seven and a half years in prison, later cut to five and a half on appeal. This April, playwright Vaclav Havel (also a non-Communist, a former Charter spokesman and a VONS member) was released from prison after almost four years, and said in his first interview that Battek is gravely ill in Opava Prison.

### Voices from Prague.

First-hand accounts of dissident activity comes in the form of a pamphlet, *Voices from Prague* (END and Palach Press) containing Czech contributions to the European nuclear disarmament debate. The writers in this volume, who can act as unofficial peace spokesmen only if the government tolerates it, stress the indivisibility of peace and freedom. This point unites men of very different political orientations: Ladislav Hejdanek is a non-Marxist philosopher who, since 1971, has been a prisoner, a nightwatchman and a stoker; Jiri Hajek, the minister of foreign affairs under Budcek, is associated with the reform Communists in the Charter movement who hope Western Communist parties can prompt the USSR to change its policy on Czechoslovakia; Jaroslav Sabata is an advocate of democratic self-management who has gone from university teaching to construction work, to prison, and then to employment in a warehouse.

Schooled in Cold War dichotomies, the American left often has perceived dissidents in the socialist bloc as right-wing, but with few exceptions Czech dissidents' views place them on the left of the American political spectrum. Yet when dissidents look to the West for political and moral support, they too often have found more friends on the right than on the left. On this 15th anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it's time for American socialist to fully appropriate the issue of human rights.



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## ANTI-SEMITIC TENDENCIES

WHEN WILL YOU LEARN THE difference between "Jewish" and "Zionist"? Tom Blanton, in his article about the upcoming march for jobs, peace and freedom on August 27 (*ITT*, Aug. 10) makes no distinction between the two when critiquing "some hold-outs in the Jewish community." By accepting the Zionist fallacy that "Jewish" and "Zionist" are synonymous, Blanton—and your newspaper—both foster anti-Semitic tendencies and obscure the politics of the situation, weakening opposition to imperialism.

Not all Jews or Jewish organizations are Zionist, nor are all Zionists Jewish. In fact, there even exists a growing number of Jews (not to mention other progressives) who, because of their anti-imperialist politics, have taken an anti-Zionist stand (such as myself). If your newspaper is at all concerned about combating both imperialism and anti-Semitism, then it behooves you to have a clear, consistent editorial policy with regard to the use of the terms "Jewish" and "Zionist." "Jewish" is a descriptive term, and in no way is a statement about politics, whereas "Zionist" is a clear political term, applicable to both Jews and non-Jews. Zionism is a political movement that was initially geared to the creation of a capitalist Jewish state (the Zionist "socialists" being a tiny minority within the movement), at the cost of militarily destroying the Palestinian nation with aid from different imperialist powers (first Britain, then the U.S.), and which is now committed to the maintenance and expansion of this state.

*In These Times* generally tries to take an anti-imperialist stand as well as attack anti-Semitism. Anti-imperialist policies require an anti-Zionist stand, just as a stand against anti-Semitism requires making a clear distinction between the terms "Jewish" and "Zionist." Without the latter, implicit sup-

port is given to the notion that all Jews are Zionists and that therefore those opposed to the actions of the Israeli state (such as the invasion of Lebanon and complicity in the massacres at Sabra and Shatila) are also opposed to Jews, a connection made all too easily because of the anti-Semitism that exists in the world today. For this very reason, the PLO has a clear policy of not confusing the terms "Zionist" and "Jewish"; the PLO is anti-Zionist, not anti-Jewish. I suggest that you adopt this policy as well.

—Nancy Krieger  
Seattle, Wash.

## ABORTION RIGHTS

IT IS PERHAPS ODD TO BE WRITING you over a now yellowing issue of *ITT*, but yesterday was my first exposure to Chuck Fager's "Rival right-to-life bills face Congress" (*ITT*, June 29) and I was impressed by its fairness. One of my biggest fears is that the New Right will somehow make abortion "their" issue. That would be a sad day for the left.

Historians will probably regard it as strange that the left was captured, even for a time, by the ideology of the Nixon Court's *Roe vs. Wade*. Anyone familiar with the surveys taken in this country before and after *Wade* know it is the rich and not the poor who favor legalized abortion. Many in the black community consider it genocide. Small wonder that the decade since *Wade* has seen a turning away from our responsibilities to the poor. Marie Antoinette's words could be well paraphrased to "Let them have an abortion."

Socialists, more than anyone, have the basis for a consistent pro-life position. Two years after *Roe vs. Wade* the Constitutional Court of West Germany issued its ruling on legalized abortion. It was a ringing declaration that the unborn have the same "right to life" as the already born. Wisely, the Court also noted that protection of the unborn might be best secured by the govern-

ment helping women with the problems that force women to abortionists. To that we should all agree.

—M.W. Perry  
Seattle, Wash.

## A GIGGLE A DAY

ALFIE KOHN'S ARTICLE (*ITT*, JULY 13) on the positive social effects of humor for political purposes follows a spate of articles on the subject in popular newspapers. (For example, the *San Francisco Examiner* recently ran "Could a giggle a day keep the physician at Bay?") These thoughtful pieces appear regularly often quoting the now famous case of Norman Cousins who cured himself with Vitamin C and laugh films.

Stand-up comics, situation comedies and politically well intentioned groups very often engage in jokes to relieve the tension or deflate the problem. More often than is healthy or interesting, political comics reduce their enemy (our enemy?) to a mere jerk who can be annoyed or made a fool of—made into a paper tiger. What is hard is to make things clear and inform people rather than to make jokes.

In my work with Dario Fo's plays over the years the actors and often directors would go for the silly jokes to make sure that the "political stuff" would not get too heavy. What they meant was that they didn't understand the "political stuff" and saw no humor (or dialectical thought) in it, and could only relate to the silly stuff. Many—I repeat myself again—and as a fanatic I would say it needs repeating—political activists who use comedy as MSG to spice up their "message" are no alternative to the doomsday atom bomb fear speakers. The jokers are as useless in making things clear as the doomsday religious people. They work together to offer a kind of insouciance and fatality—resulting in a happy impotence.

The phenomenon of recurring articles and panels on the importance and meaning of comedy (the Bay Area has two panels this month: Media Alliance and Playwrights Festival ask "Comedy and Social Responsibility?") are all peculiarly North American. I don't think the Germans, French or even the English go into this as much; it's a persistent adolescent game we North Americans play.

Listening recently to E.P. Thompson explain his views on nuclear resistance and the peace movement in Europe—historically, intellectually and insightfully—I'm not sure I giggled, nor laughed out loud, but I certainly learned something and came away lively in the mind and less silly in the soul.

—R.G. Davis  
San Francisco

## THAT'S NOT FUNNY

IN HIS ARTICLE ON HUMOR AND THE bomb (*ITT*, July 13), Alfie Kohn was mistaken in saying that Tom Lehrer "no longer seems to find such topics appropriate for humor." According to the narration of *Tomfoolery* (a review of Lehrer's songs), Lehrer (who still teaches math and American musical theater at the University of California, Santa Cruz) stopped performing because "political satire became obsolete when Henry Kissinger was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize."

—Hassel Riff  
New York

## FREEZE POLITICS

IN A RECENT ARTICLE, RANDY KEHLER expressed some reservations about the national nuclear freeze campaign's recent decision not to formally oppose the MX missile (*ITT*, July 13). I have reservations about that decision also. In fact, I think it was a very serious mistake.

Kehler said that if the freeze works to stop the MX, the campaign will be accused of favoring unilateral disarmament, and this will cost public support. He overlooks the fact, however, that the Soviet Union must also agree to a freeze if it is to be negotiated. Right now it's

easy for Andropov to come out in favor of a bilateral freeze; he knows that while Reagan is president such an agreement is unlikely. But if we are lucky enough to get Reagan out of office in 1984, the Soviets may have to decide whether they really want a freeze or not. At that point the Kremlin could be faced with Cruise and Pershing II missiles 10 minutes from Moscow, Trident II sea-based missiles, an accelerated space weapons program and the imminent deployment of the MX. Under those conditions, USSR leadership might very well say no to a freeze. If that happens, public opinion here won't matter too much. The freeze will be dead.

Kehler states that another reason why the freeze did not "target the MX" is that the U.S. is not about to deploy the MX. The freeze should be commended for its work against the placement of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe later this year, but Kehler's argument just doesn't make sense. The worst time to oppose a nuclear weapon is when it is about to be deployed. This is like opposing the construction of an office building the day the cornerstone is being put in. Although it isn't too late, serious work against the Cruise and Pershing II should have started two years ago when there were numerous legislative opportunities to intervene, as there still are now for the MX missile.

The worst thing about the freeze's decision is that it gives our national representatives the green light to go ahead with the MX. If the only peace organization with real clout in Washington, D.C., won't come out against this weapon, why should Congress? One hundred "moderate" members of the House now know that they won't feel too much organized pressure from their constituents if they let the MX ride.

Despite understandable concerns about public opinion, the freeze must take the risk of formally opposing the MX missile. Its deployment means an acceleration of the arms race that no resolutions in Congress can possibly overcome.

—Matthew Lasar  
Berkeley, Calif.

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—Kathryn Morgan  
Westlake Village, Calif.

## A COUPLE OF DOUBTS

I ENJOYED PAUL KANGES' LETTER PRO- posing the 30-hour week as a solution to unemployment. I have a couple of doubts.

It would obviously be necessary to strike to win a 30-hour week. Since most unions are neither interested nor successful in organizing the unorganized, such a strike would obviously fail.

Further, Kanges implies that increased efficiency due to automation has been the cause of workers' "redundancy." But taking the steel industry as an example, the cause of layoffs is not efficiency (increased or otherwise). The cause is to be found in the various financial and managerial aspects of modern American capitalism.

—Bill Fishman  
Los Angeles, Calif.

## CORRECTION

Due to a printing error the photo credit for the centerspread in Vol. 7, No. 31 did not appear in some issues. The photo is by John Spragens Jr.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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# IN DEPTH



## Fractured Court votes on labor

By Beth Maschinot

**A**S THE 1982-83 SUPREME Court session came to a close in July, the most widely reported labor decision by the Court was the *Arizona Governing Board vs. Norris* decision outlawing public-employer pension plans that discriminate by sex. Although an important decision, the Court also decided on 31 other labor-related cases that will affect the rights of many American workers. In fact, one-fifth of the court session was devoted to labor issues, making labor second only to criminal law as a subject of the Court's attention.

In a Court considered otherwise to be in disarray, Justice Thurgood Marshall was most consistently pro-labor and Justice Sandra Day O'Connor was most consistently anti-labor. Though Marshall's and O'Connor's positions are not likely to change drastically, the other members of the Court often make fractured decisions—pro-labor in one case and anti-labor in another—that make it necessary to watch the Burger Court on labor decisions.

In a case involving sex discrimination in employment benefits, *Newport News Shipbuilding vs. EEOC*, the Court found that an employer violated Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by excluding the spouses of male employees from certain pregnancy benefits available to female employees. In 1978 Congress enacted the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, declaring that exclusion of pregnancy from otherwise comprehensive health coverage was unlawful. In *Newport News*, the Court reasoned that providing less than full coverage to the spouses of male employees discriminated against those male employees by giving them less than a full benefit package for their dependents. Since the discrimination was based on sex, it was unlawful under Title VII as amended. Justice Rehnquist and Justice Powell dissented, arguing that the exclusion discriminated against spouses of employees but not employees, and therefore it was

not covered by Title VII.

In another employment discrimination case, *Guardians Association vs. Civil Service Commission*, the issue was racial instead of sexual discrimination. Black and Hispanic police officers in New York City were hired according to their results on tests that were found by the District Court to discriminate against minorities. When the Department subsequently laid off police officers on a "last hired-first fired" basis, those officers who had achieved the lowest scores were laid off first, and in response they filed a class action suit against the New York Civil Service Commission. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in federally funded programs, and many federal regulations have sprung up around Title VI to ensure that practices having a "discriminatory impact"—even if not intentionally discriminatory—are also illegal.

The Court was badly divided in the case, producing six different opinions, with no more than three justices joining any of them. The upshot of the various opinions found the New York Civil Service Commission at fault and upheld the federal regulations, saying that Title VI forbids both intentional and unintentional discrimination. But the Court awarded no monetary compensation for lost seniority benefits. The divisions in this case were the result of the fractured decision in the *Bakke* case five years ago.

Two cases found the Court sharply divided over the rights of public employees to address employment-related matters on the job. In both cases—*Perry Education Association vs. Perry Local Educators' Association (PLEA)* and *Connick vs. Myers*—the boundary of the First Amendment right to free speech as it relates to work issues was questioned. In the *Perry* case, the Perry Education Association (PEA) was given exclusive access to teacher mailboxes in Perry Township, Ind., schools after the union was chosen to represent the town's teachers. The rival PLEA union filed a suit against the PEA, charging that the union's preferential access to the mail-

boxes violated the First Amendment. The Court decided by a five-four vote that there was no violation of the First Amendment; the majority cited the school board's interest in avoiding conflict between the two unions as sufficient justification to exclude the union that had not been chosen. But the dissent argued that the unequal treatment of the two organizations was not justified.

In *Connick vs. Myers*, Justice White, speaking for almost the same majority as in *Perry*, held that a public employer could prevent employees from raising employment related complaints on the job. After refusing to accept a job transfer, Sheila Myers, an assistant district attorney in New Orleans, distributed a questionnaire in her office asking fellow staff members' views on office transfer policy, office morale, the level of confidence in supervisors and perceived pressure to work in political campaigns. District Attorney Harry Connick fired her for refusing to accept the transfer and for the "act of insubordination" of distributing the questionnaire.

### Union interests will be weakened by some of the recent Supreme Court decisions.

The majority upheld Connick's right to fire Myers, reasoning that the employer did not have to tolerate behavior that might disrupt the office and undermine his authority. They also decided that the questionnaire did not sufficiently concern matters of public interest and therefore was not protected by the First Amendment. In a classic liberal-conservative split, Justices Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun and Stevens dissented, arguing that the First Amendment did protect Myers' right to solicit opinions from her fellow workers.

In these two cases, the majority decisions opted for "peace in the workplace" but labor found itself in an apparently contradictory position: defending the decision of the employer in *Perry* and opposing the employer in *Connick*. As a Washington labor lawyer noted, the deci-

sion in *Perry* can be seen as favorable to labor interests: once the majority of employees have chosen a union to represent them, their ability to speak is enhanced by excluding competing unions. Rival unions weaken the chosen union by dividing the workers as they address the employer. Seen in this same light, it is not contradictory to argue that the employer in *Connick* should not be able to interfere with the rights of an employee to speak on the job.

### Indirected vs. collective interests.

The tension between individual and collective interests arose more indirectly in a case involving the union's duty to fairly represent workers in the grievance process. In *Bowen vs. Postal Service*, Charles Bowen was fired by the U.S. Postal Service because of a dispute with another employee and he filed a grievance with his union. The union represented him in the grievance procedure, but decided not to take the matter one step further to arbitration. The Supreme Court agreed with the District Court in the case, stating that the union must join with the USPS in paying back pay to the worker for its arbitrary handling of the case.

Justice White, speaking for himself and three other justices in dissent, predicted dire consequences for labor relations if unions would now begin to take every case to arbitration to avoid the risk of having to pay for the employer's wrong. In a strongly worded opinion, he said, "It is bizarre to hold, as the Court does, that the relatively impotent union is exclusively liable for the bulk of the back pay."

Although several labor lawyers say they see the necessity of the fair representation doctrine in order to protect the rights of workers from possible union abuse, the result of *Bowen* leaves unions with less flexibility in deciding how to best represent workers. By pressuring the union to bring grievances to arbitration, certain individuals may win, but eventually the union's power will be weakened. Spending more time and money on grievances not likely to win in arbitration cuts into the resources that could be used for more promising grievances.

In a decision that may diminish union boycotts of subsidiaries of conglomerates, the Court in *DeBartolo vs. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)* curtailed "secondary" boycotts—boycotts that put pressure on the customers or suppliers of the employer with whom there is a dispute instead of the employer's own business. There are prohibitions against secondary boycotts in the Labor Act, but Congress did make an exception for "publicity" other than picketing for the purpose of explaining that a "secondary" did business with an employer who is in conflict with the union. The Labor Board had always given this exception a broad reading to avoid First Amendment problems.

In *DeBartolo*, union members passed out handbills asking customers not to shop at a mall in which a nonunion contractor was building one of the department stores. The Supreme Court found their activity to be illegal, holding that the customers had to be doing business directly with the targeted employer. This decision limits the use of one of the union's most effective tactical devices, especially in instances where "target" and "secondary" are likely to be murky—conglomerates and their subsidiaries.

Unlike in *DeBartolo*, the Court did agree with the Labor Board's interpretation of the Labor Act in the majority of cases in which NLRB was involved. Although it is usually favorable to labor to have the Court agree with the NLRB in this way, since the law the Board enforces is intended to encourage labor organizations, Reagan's recent appointment of right-wing Donald Dotson as chairman of the board may make this deference to the NLRB an obstacle in the future. ■



## PERSPECTIVES

## Stealing Reagan's thunder

By Bertram Gross

**"I**F ELECTED PRESIDENT, I'll meet promptly with the Soviet leader." Every serious Democratic candidate has made this pledge. It projects an image of high resolve to do something to avoid nuclear war, but its vagueness allows him to dodge open discussion of what that something should be, thus preserving the idea that summitry should be shrouded in Nixon-Kissinger style secrecy.

Ronald Reagan does not have to wait until after the election. As the incumbent, he has the advantage of initiative. Before the election he can star in a media event of world-wide significance: the first superpower summit in six years.

With two or three weeks of preparation, according to some observers, the two sides could work out a plausible joint statement, not merely an agenda. While the area of possible agreement may be much smaller than that of disagreement, it nonetheless exists. And the Soviets seem ready. They have already pointed out that Reagan's representatives are "marking time."

The Soviets certainly know that for the White House timing is crucial. A 1983 summit could lose its impact by November 1984; a fall meeting would look like an overly obvious election gambit. My own guess is that Reagan will summit in the spring.

Back in 1972, a "new" Richard Nixon looked like a world statesman after his visit to Peking and his May detente agreements with Brezhnev. This ploy, together with the Federal Reserve Board's pumping up the economy, guaranteed him an election victory a few months later. Now Nixon is advising Reagan on a similar script. "Before a summit meeting with our potential adversaries takes place," he has stated publicly, "it is vital that a meeting be scheduled with our [Chinese] friends" (*New York Times*, June 2, 1983).

By moving quickly in this direction, the Reagan administration has thrown a scare into the ranks of the extreme right. Nixon's former aide, William Safire, has inveighed against the possibility that an April 1984 summit might give us a "new Reagan willing to appease the Soviets." The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* are still more troubled. The recent Madrid agreements, they pointed out last month—in an editorial headlined "Detente Danger"—provide for this sequence: a January meeting on mutual notification concerning troop movements (after the December disarmament conference in Stockholm) and March talks on "peaceful settlement of disputes." All this, they warn, portends "a new era of detente..."

## Huge hoax.

As things now stand, this is outside the realm of possibility. The high probability is that the Reagan administration will perpetrate a huge hoax: a summit meeting that will build up his image as a peace

candidate, campaigning on the principle of peace through strength. If the Soviets show a willingness to compromise, this will be projected as a victory for peace through strength. If the Soviet position seems to maintain present tensions, this will justify more "strength."

The range of possible summit agreements that could preserve, rather than reduce, present tensions and arms budgets is enormous. First of all, various compromises on the deployment of the Pershing and Cruise missiles are conceivable—without either side giving up much, if any, overkill. But if Reagan does place a full set of missiles in West Germany this coming December, the Soviets might respond by placing their missiles in East Germany.

If something like this takes place, the stage will be set for Reagan and Andropov to act on Senator Henry Jackson's sound but limited proposal for a "jointly staffed Soviet-American consultation center...to prevent a nuclear war by accident or misunderstanding" ("Nuclear War and the Hotline," *Wall Street Journal*, September 3, 1982). Last year Reagan himself publicly pointed out the limitations of the "hotline" (now merely a teleprinter connecting two coding-and-translating staffs) in comparison with voice communication. Since then, the subject has been wrapped in secrecy—in preparation, perhaps, for a dramatic unveiling in 1984 no matter what happens on Pershing and Cruise missile deployment.

A still more dramatic possibility would be an agreement to reduce the number of nuclear warheads in American and Russian stockpiles. Many anti-war leaders would likely regard any reduction as a forward step, too good to be true—hence few of them even contemplate the possibility. But that attitude ignores several crucial facts:

- A reduced stockpile can be more, not less, destructive if achieved with a "build down" scheme, replacing "old-fashioned" warheads with a smaller number of more destructive ones.

- The distinctions between nuclear and "conventional" weapons have been blurred, as Michael Klare pointed out in *The Conventional Weapons Fallacy*, *The Nation*, April 9, 1983).

- Nuclear cuts are seen by the Pentagon (and such bilateral freeze supporters as McGeorge Bundy and William Colby) as part of a major shift toward vast increases in NATO equipment and personnel, rapid deployment forces and military aid.

Since the London Naval Conference of 1930 (which limited Cruise construction), partial disarmament agreements have almost always resulted in the expansion of arms not covered by the parts. The U.S. and the USSR have both followed this rule under SALT I and SALT II (still adhered to although not ratified by the U.S.), and the Reagan administration is now converting the old rule of thumb into an iron law. Pentagon spokesmen, such as General Bernard Rogers, the NATO chief, openly advocate—at one and the same time—nuclear cuts and vast increases in the military budget. More "conventional" weapons, they proclaim, are the best protection against nuclear war ("NATO Chief Supports Nuclear Cuts," *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 1983). But the conventional Pentagon discussion of conventional escalation—still followed by too many people in the freeze movement—ignores a fourth fact: the greatest danger of nuclear war from an accident or misunderstanding might well arise from the escalation of non-nuclear combat in Central America, the Middle East, Africa or the Persian Gulf

areas where non-nuclear escalation proceeds apace.

## Take the initiative.

A constructive response to these possibilities will be to open widespread debate on what the American position should be in any summit conference. This should occur soon, regardless of Reagan's moves. The content of the next summit meeting is too important to be left to a president and his national security elites.

Although lacking the advantages of the White House as a "bully pulpit," the American peace movement can at least try to take the initiative away from Reagan. A first step could be to open up the summit process with congressional resolutions calling for a summit and outlining specific policies to guide American participation in it. In addition to a bilateral nuclear freeze and a halt to pending NATO deployments, these policies might call for:

- the goal of a total freeze (non-nuclear as well as nuclear) followed by comprehensive and balanced force reductions;
- a multilateral summit including NATO and Warsaw Pact countries in any freezes and reductions;
- the expansion of American-Soviet trade, as well as scientific, educational and cultural exchanges; and
- an American-Soviet commitment to strengthen, and make more use of, the

*Though it lacks the White House as a "bully pulpit," the peace movement can take the summit initiative.*

United Nations in the resolution of conflicts.

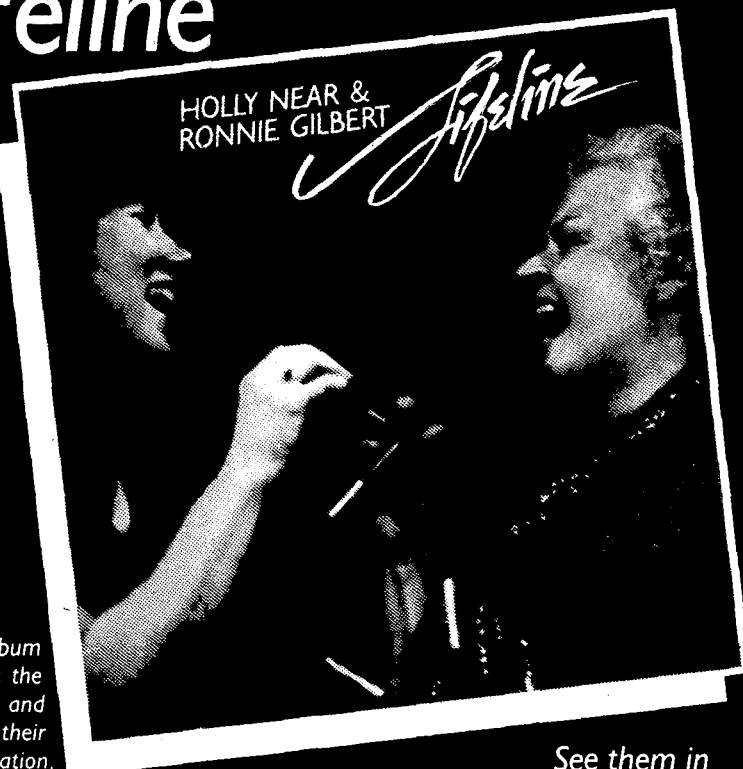
Policies of this type could build genuine American strength, particularly if combined with full employment planning to lessen economic dependence on military spending. True security could then replace the illusion of "peace through strength."

How the Democratic House might vote on such policies is not too important in the short run. More important could be the impact on our coming winter of discontent; Democratic candidates now seem likely to make their way through presidential primaries mouthing sweet nothings—witness their tepid disarmament stands at the recent peace forum in Des Moines. But if motion can begin toward "open summits, openly arrived at," to paraphrase Woodrow Wilson, Cranston, Mondale, Glenn and others might be impelled to start thinking and talking about the policies they would pursue if they ever arrive at a summit. This, in turn, would lead to healthy substance, instead of glittering generalities, in the Democratic platform and later debates among the nominees themselves.

But top-side talk by presidential candidates and members of Congress is not enough. This is the lesson of the nuclear freeze, "jobs with peace," civil rights and environmental movements. Grass-roots debates—enlivened by non-violent activism—are essential to supplement the electoral process. They might even force some currents of fresh air into the murky processes of executive decision making during the perilous last months of Reagan's present term in office.

**Bertram Gross is distinguished professor emeritus at City University of New York and is currently visiting professor at Saint Mary's College of California. He is the author of *Friendly Fascism* (South End Press).**

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# INPRINT

## The Wizards of Armageddon

By Fred Kaplan

Simon & Schuster, \$18.95

## Germany Debates Defense: The NATO Alliance at the Crossroads

Edited by Rudolf Steinke and Michael Vale  
M.E. Sharpe

By Diana Johnstone

The greatest discovery of American intellectuals at the end of World War II was power. "Power corrupts," they said over and over, as they scrambled for it. Some of the most successful, and most corrupt, were the "nuclear war strategists" whom Fred Kaplan, in his superb new book, calls *The Wizards of Armageddon* or the "whiz kids."

"Absolute power corrupts absolutely," was everybody's favorite quote in those days. They were referring, of course, to the other guy, the "totalitarian" enemy who used to be Hitler and was now being held over indefinitely as Soviet Communism.

But the real Absolute Power was the power of the Bomb. It haunted the collective imagination of the period, and perhaps an underlying cause for the success of "totalitarianism" theories was the need for an enemy whose evil was as absolute as that destructive power that the U.S. government had already seen fit to use and made plain it would use again. The unleashing of that power of nature, like other powers of nature that rulers have

wanted to use but could not understand, generated its own particular priesthood. The wizards were supposed to explain to distracted politicians and wild macho fly-boy generals ways to tame and use this absolute power. Their most notorious den was the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, Calif., which is the center of Kaplan's investigation.

Kaplan has had access to heaps of hitherto classified documents and has interviewed a staggering array of 160 people. With this material, he sets the record straight on a number of crucially important points of history. He shows that the famous "missile gap" of the late '50s was a total fiction, made up out of the whole cloth by "analysts" who analyzed nothing more real than their own mental projections. He establishes that all through the tense years of the Cold War, not only was the U.S. officially prepared to respond to conventional Soviet aggression in Europe with a massive nuclear attack that would have wiped out most of the population of the USSR and surrounding countries, whether or not they were belligerents. ("I hope you don't have any friends or relations in Albania," Strategic Air Command General Tommy Power said cheerily to Robert McNamara, "because we're just going to have to wipe it out"). But also, that the Strategic Air Command under General Curtis LeMay was secretly prepared for a preemptive nuclear strike if the Russians even looked as if they were mobilizing.



Kaplan carefully reconstructs the origins of "counterforce" and chronicles major battles in the Pentagon's real war: the war between the Air Force, the Navy and the Army for congressional appropriations.

### Power corrupts.

But Kaplan's book is not just a compendium of sensational revelations. More than that, he has taken the trouble to understand and reconstruct the arguments, the methods and rationales of these wizards. Thus we can begin to figure out for ourselves the precise process by which "absolute power absolutely corrupts" intellectuals who try to serve it. This is a matter that concerns more than the souls of a few strategists. The Bomb has corrupted our whole political life, and the present administration is the triumphant embodiment of that corruption.

The temptation of power over politics comes early, in the form of the thought that "the threat of atomic retaliation will in effect serve as a substitute for world government, as the force from above looming over all international activity." The implication, which is clearer today than ever, is that the U.S. can dispense with all the complicated subtleties of a political approach to international relations and simply impose its own order by threatening to unleash the cataclysm, like divine wrath. In fact, this tacit threat to the world has achieved nothing but mounting disorder. But wizards are still on the job with schemes to make it work.

Since math made the Bomb, math was supposed to show what to do with it. The most successful charlatans in the nuclear strategy racket have been good at tossing around figures, although they were not necessarily mathematicians. Quantification seemed scientific. Mathematics was a language that could leave out the politics and indeed soon forced out the politics.

This was done by game theory. Game theory was devised by RAND consultant John von Neumann, who Kaplan thinks was

"possibly the most brilliant man—certainly among the broader intellects—of the 20th century." I'm not sure exactly what Kaplan means by that, but when I read on the same page that von Neumann's Hungarian emigre hatred of Communism enabled him "to work enthusiastically on the H-bomb project with no moral qualms," I have my doubts, at least about the "broader intellect" part. Blaise Pascal, absolutely no slouch as a mathematician and widely considered "possibly the most brilliant man" of his century, pointed out 300 years ago that mathematical intelligence is mainly a matter of paying attention to things that bore most people, whereas social or moral intelligence is much more subtle and rare. The men at RAND are constantly being called "brilliant," mostly meaning that they love to solve abstract puzzles and are very clever at it. But some of them, at least, are also moral idiots, because they lack the inner questioning reflex that warns us constantly that we may be deceiving ourselves, especially when the ideas accord with our wishes.

A particularly repulsive example: the late Herman Kahn, who used to rush around bragging about how he dared "think about the unthinkable." I remember the '50s, when boys were boys and girls were girls, and the former liked to sort themselves out by being "tough-minded." By cheerfully projecting statistical megadeaths, the whiz kid could be in the same macho class with the Air Force general roaring that he wanted to "blast the balls off the Russians." Two kinds of little boys in perpetual moral infancy.

## The real war was between the Army, Navy and Air Force over appropriations

The point is that Kahn was having a truly grand time "thinking about the unthinkable," just as the RAND analysts were delighted to come up with "scary" projections indicating that the Russians had a zillion of everything pointed right at us. That's what they were paid for, that's what the Air Force wanted to hear, that's how it could hope to scare Senators into voting huge appropriations for new weapons systems. The wizards brag about their "worst case" reasoning as "scientific." But it is a fake. Because the real "worst case" for RAND or Air Force intelligence in the periods recounted would have been to assume that the poor Russians were trembling in their cold country with hardly anything that would get off the ground, that they shot down the U-2 so it wouldn't find out how few missiles they had, that there weren't even enough military targets in the Soviet Union for a genuine "counterforce" American strategy to aim at, that Khrushchev was exaggerating both his military strength and his world revolutionary commitment to scare off his powerful enemies abroad and appease his critics at home. This would have been a real "worst case" in the best scientific manner for the appropriations-hungry Air Force analysts. It would also have been much closer to the truth than any of the estimates they confidently passed on to their superiors, which in fact always made the "best case" possible for more and more money for more and more weapons. This is a most flagrant sort of intellectual corruption.

### Game theory.

But a more profound and insidious corruption is game theory itself. The essence of game theory, explains Kaplan, is "find out your opponent's best strategy and act accordingly." You not only assumed your opponent would do his worst, you figured out by sophisticated calculations what this worst would be and then acted accordingly. Conservative and pessimistic, "game theory," says Kaplan, "was the perfect intellectual rationale for the Cold War, the vehicle through which many intellectuals bought on to its assumptions."

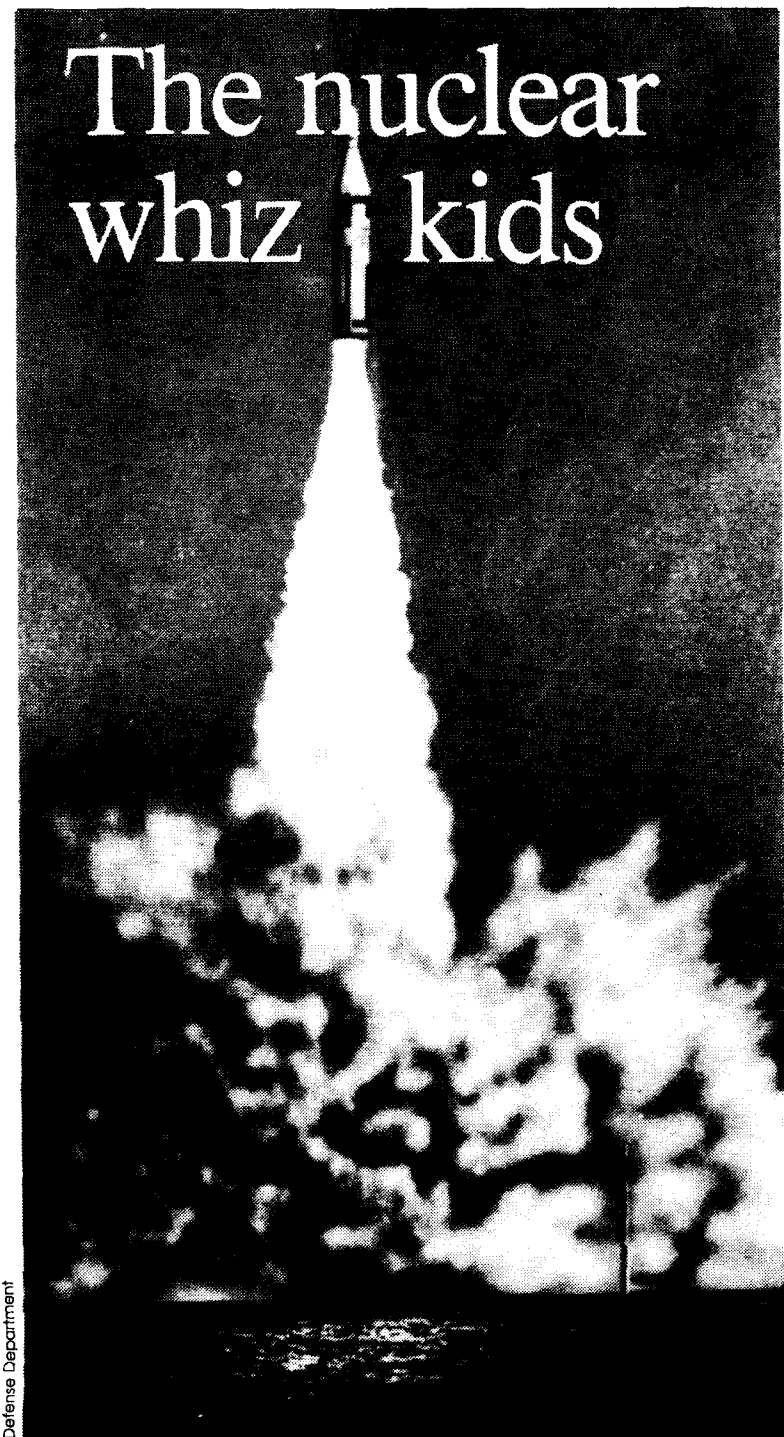
Worse than that, game theory totally excludes and replaces the real world of human motivations with an abstract construct. It eliminates politics altogether. Instead there are statistical probabilities. It is the perfect reality surrogate for all those partially grown-up child geniuses who just love concentrating on puzzles but who have remained moral, social and political idiots.

The most truly shocking and scandalous revelation, which Kaplan's book begins to uncover (I think there is more to come), is that for the past 35 years our

Continued on page 22

## FOREIGN POLICY

# The nuclear whiz kids



Defense Department



## GAY RIGHTS

**Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970**

By John D'Emilio  
University of Chicago Press,  
257 pp., \$20

By Richard Kaye

The history of the political and cultural transformations of the '60s is currently being written. But as new and old leftists battle over the "achievements" and "failures" of the period, one of the major and most permanent social revolutions of the era inevitably gets slighted, if mentioned at all. Democratic socialist Irving Howe writes off the '60s as "the decade that failed," and Marxist historians devote volumes to the era without a glance at the Stonewall Riots, but for

a classic in the field.

D'Emilio's book focuses primarily on the early homosexual rights movement in the U.S., which in part is a chilling story of social repression and harassment during the '40s and '50s. As such, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* is also a valuable view of the origins of late '60s gay activism. In examining the first homosexual emancipation organizations—the Mattachine Society and the lesbian Daughters of Bilitis—D'Emilio attempts to rescue these groups from their obscurity and the Uncle Tom status that they have among the generation of post-Stonewall liberationists.

### Military freedom.

He begins with a discussion of the effects of World War II on the lives of homosexuals, when

ed more easily in action," writes D'Emilio. "For many gay Americans, World War II created something of a nationwide coming out experience."

The advantages for lesbians were particularly striking. Whereas the great majority of American women could only look forward to the roles of housewife, mother and daughter during peacetime, females in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) were allowed a good deal of independence and the opportunity to live closely with other women. And there was, according to D'Emilio, a remarkable wartime suspension of the usual taboos against female homosexuality. "They are exactly as you and I," advised one military training manual whose purpose was to discourage lesbian "witchhunting and speculating" in the army, "except that they participate in sexual gratification with members of their own sex." One would search in vain for this sort of clear-headed, if rather clinical description of lesbianism in today's army.

Still, the military managed to dishonorably discharge some 2,000 suspected homosexuals during the '50s, and the stigma of

## World War II was a national coming out experience.

chapters on McCarthy-era, anti-homosexual activities on the part of the U.S. government and its agencies will come as a keen revelation. President Eisenhower issued an executive order declaring homosexuality grounds for dismissal from a government job, and for years legislative bodies around the country held hearings on suspected homosexuality in government. The FBI conducted an elaborate system of spying, mail opening, monitoring and general harassment of sexual "deviates."

### "Fag-baiting."

But more shocking than the government-sponsored declaration of war on the alleged homosexual was the monolithic way in which every American institution—from newspapers, which printed the names and addresses of those arrested in bar raids, to

voices, even in the worst days of red baiting. However, when it came to the matter of homosexuality, there was a consensus among Americans. The intellectual who read *Partisan Review* held roughly the same views on sexual deviance as the government official who worked toward drumming questionable people out of their government posts.

Harry Hay, a member of the Communist Party (CP) and a founder of the Mattachine Society in 1950, believed it was time for homosexuals to conceive of themselves as oppressed in much the same way that the Party thought of workers as oppressed. Hay's story is one of the many here of those in the Communist Party who attempted to bring homosexual rights to the attention of the CP leadership as a legitimate concern for leftists. But however much the Party gave Hay and others a firm sense of leftist politics as originating from the political and social fringe, the Party's officialdom wanted nothing to do with "homophile" politics. The Mattachine Society emerged from the ranks of the leftist movement, but Hay and his fellow Communists left the Party soon after.

D'Emilio charts, in riveting detail, the intricacies in political strategy and personal feuding that divided Mattachine and its sister group, the Daughters of Bilitis. Both groups struggled throughout the '50s with small memberships and questions of accommodationist politics versus more activist methods. Should Mattachine continue to court sympathetic professionals even when they often harbored notions of homosexuals as "sick"? Should the two organizations work toward legalizing homosexual acts or toward simply helping homosexual men and women through support groups? *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* goes searchingly through all of these issues, and along the way D'Emilio uncovers a number of unsung heroes and heroines—Frank Kameny, Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon—names that deserve to be more familiar to a younger generation of gay activists.

As excellent a feat of historical investigation as D'Emilio's work is, his accomplishment does not end there. He is especially adept at marshalling the medical and social-scientific arguments on homosexuality. Unquestionably, the 1948 Kinsey Report was the most influential study on the subject, revealing that homosexuality and—crucial distinction—homosexual impulses were far more common than traditionally thought. In stark, clinically objective detail Kinsey showed that 50 percent of American males admitted erotic responses to their own sex, 37 percent acknowledging at least one post-adolescent homosexual experience leading to orgasm, 4 percent engaging in exclusive homosexuality in adulthood and 13 percent admitting exclusive homosexual activity for at least a three-year period in adulthood. Kinsey's widely discussed study was used by anti-homosexualists as powerful evidence that the threat they warned of was indeed rampant in American society.

But again and again D'Emilio makes the point that studies such as that conducted by Kinsey were beneficial in opening up the subject of homosexuality to debate before the public. Even medical authorities with elaborate justifi-

# The long road to Stonewall



D'Emilio argues that gay politics today owe much to the politics of the women's movement and the New Left.

hundreds of thousands of homosexual men and women, the '60s was largely a time of political dreams come true.

Now John D'Emilio's scrupulously documented account of the early homosexual rights movement provides what has long been an unexamined chapter in the history of American political activity. Relying on first-hand interviews as well as medical, religious and sociological literature of the day, D'Emilio's study joins Jonathan Katz's documentary history *Gay American History* (1976) and Dennis Altman's theoretical study, *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation* (1971) in becoming

thousands of men and women entering the military were uprooted from small towns and traditional family structures. Although military psychiatrists interrogated incoming recruits to determine whether there were homosexuals entering the armed forces, only the most effeminate men were weeded out. The cumulative result was enormously positive. Not only did the military psychiatrists' inquiries have the value of raising the issue of homosexuality where previously there had been only silence, but military life itself offered a new freedom. "The unusual conditions of a mobilized society allowed homosexual desire to be express-

homosexuality could hound an ex-soldier for decades after the last troops had gone home. But military life gave thousands of gay men and women a taste of freedom that went far in producing an urban gay subculture immediately after the war. (San Francisco, because it was a common stopping off place for soldiers headed overseas, became the likely site for an urban gay mecca.)

With the growth of homosexual populations in larger cities, however, came new fears and forms of social oppression. For anyone who thought Cold War hysteria was fueled only by a perceived Soviet threat, D'Emilio's

the ACLU, which for many years refused to defend homosexuals—participated in the "fag-baiting" mania. D'Emilio argues that McCarthyism was ultimately more ruthless with homosexuals, in terms of the numbers of victims and the degree of persecution, than it was with Communist sympathizers. "According to extreme anti-Communist ideologues, left-wing teachers poison the minds of their students," D'Emilio writes. "Lesbians and homosexuals corrupted their bodies."

As brutal as the McCarthy years were for those with leftist histories, it was still possible to find a few respectable dissenting

Ricky Flores



## RELIGION

# Exorcising sexism and emphasizing politics

**A Map of the New Country: Women and Christianity**  
By Sara Maitland  
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 212 pp.

By Beth Maschinot

Politics and religion, though for a period of time considered strange bedfellows, are quickly becoming old lovers again. Often the most visible signs of this are rather crude: Jerry Falwell's interpretations of personal morality and materialism, which sound more like a page from a primer on success American-style than a value system based on the Christian Gospels; the present administration's incantation directed at "Godless communism," which is calculated to incite the good Christian soldiers to protect American interests abroad.

But groups operating from a different religious perspective are also entering the fray. Not as simplistic or self-interested as Falwell and Reagan, they attempt to rise above moralizing by asking the harder questions of equality and fairness. Numerous issues—Central America, Poland, nuclear war, domestic poverty—have recently come under the scrutiny of church bodies, which feel compelled to at least alert members to their seriousness. For the churches, this is a sign of a coming of age.

The fact that religious pronouncements regarding political issues have been treated seriously by non-religious people is an even newer development. Perhaps this is because of the secular culture's failure to deliver certain goods:

## Christian women have a background in organizing.

no arena for sustained discussion of underlying values in our overly pragmatic culture, the seeming failure of history to "progress" as assuredly as we had once hoped and the inability of science to solve our basic dilemmas solely by objective means.

Against this backdrop of emerging religious involvement, Sara Maitland's *A Map of the New Country: Women and Christianity* has relevancy and a broader appeal than it would have had 10 years ago. Maitland concentrates on the internal struggle of women within a paternalistic and at times openly misogynistic Christian church. She also hints at the wider ramifications a victory over sexism in the churches would have on society at large, but it is a weakness of the book that she takes few risks in clarifying this point.

The "new country" is, quite simply put, a better world free from sexism. An implicit argument throughout the book is that Christian women, given their strong base of support in large organizations and their depth of commitment to issues beyond personal gratification, are more

and more becoming instigators of social change.

Why are women of particular importance in shaping this map of the new country? Briefly put, Christianity has long been the special domain of women, though this usually operated to exclude them from more "worldly" spheres of influence.

In the late 18th and 19th centuries, the political and business spheres became increasingly secularized, pushing religion into a private and supernatural corner. Politics and business were serious, worldly and sometimes rough: fit for men only. Christianity, on the other hand, became progressively other-worldly, often sentimental and consigned to questions of personal morality. Soon even the answers to these questions became indistinguishable from simple social conformity. Women were left to tend this "inferior" sphere, and given limited power within its bounds.

For women, Christianity soon became the domain where the few opportunities outside the home existed: religious women were better educated than their counterparts, nuns were given the authority to run schools and hospitals, women missionaries exercised a new-found independence from male authority in mission outposts. As long as their duties remained within the bounds of education and health care, and as long as it was understood to be self-sacrifice, they were left alone to accomplish their duties.

But when women directly challenged the public sphere and their own pigeon-holed status within it, they received hostile condemnations. The Grimke sisters speaking for abolition and Elizabeth Cady Stanton working for women's rights were jeered not so much for the content of their stance, but for the arrogance that enabled them to speak about public issues—"men's issues."

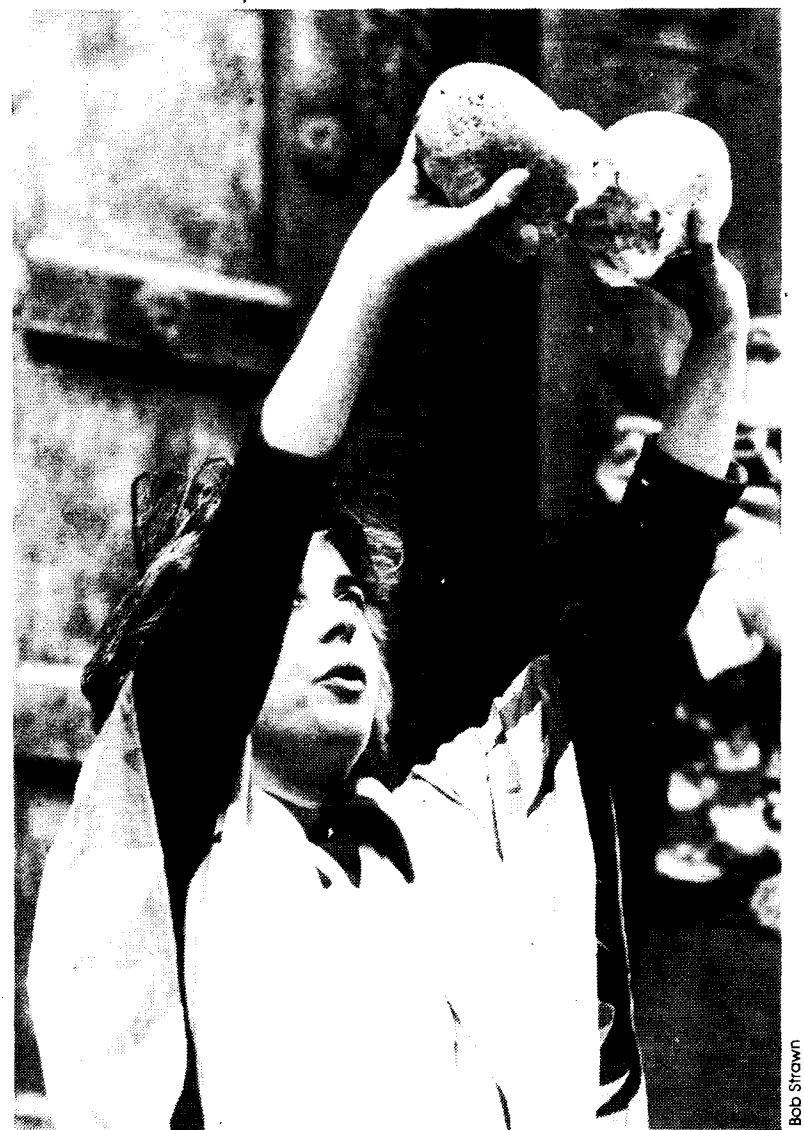
### Women's skills.

As Maitland sees it, the average Christian woman has a background of educating and organizing that, if channelled in a progressive direction, could bring about some much-needed changes in both church and society.

If this were Maitland's entire argument, it would show a naïveté bordering on blindness. But the relationship of women to Christianity is, of course, not so positive. As Maitland says, "The Christian religion, in conflict with its own vocation, offered

people, women and other oppressed people particularly, a secure and loving sleep, in slavery. It is painful and difficult to wake up...."

But waking up and exorcising the sexism found in traditional theologies, laws and institutions is the first distance to be traveled in the new country. Unlike some



A demonstrator breaks bread at a protest against the Vatican ban on women priests.

of their Christian feminist predecessors who chose to ignore the sexism in the church to concentrate on other political questions, there is a growing current in the churches demanding the reordering of this sphere first. It is in part an attempt to obtain credibility—an attempt to overcome the characteristically anachronistic way that many churches deal with social questions. But for the women that Maitland interviews, the most compelling reason is personal. Christianity, for better or worse, is an influence that has intimately shaped their lives and their own understanding of themselves as women.

These women feel conflict with a familiar yet oppressive institution but find strength in the church traditions of personal commitment and communal support. We meet women at various

stages of political insight and involvement, but all who share a critical approach to society because of their oftentimes negative experiences within their own churches.

It is Maitland's strength that she takes some very traditional categories—women in communities (mainstream religious communities and newer grassroots communities), liturgy and spirituality, church bureaucracies—and attempts to show how women's thinking and action can transform these areas.

Her chapter on women in church bureaucracies is an area seldom explored by other authors. She asks an important question: How can church institutions avoid their usual slavish adherence to models of corporations, in which profit and hier-

archy are the ideal? How can women organize within these bureaucracies to bring about much needed change?

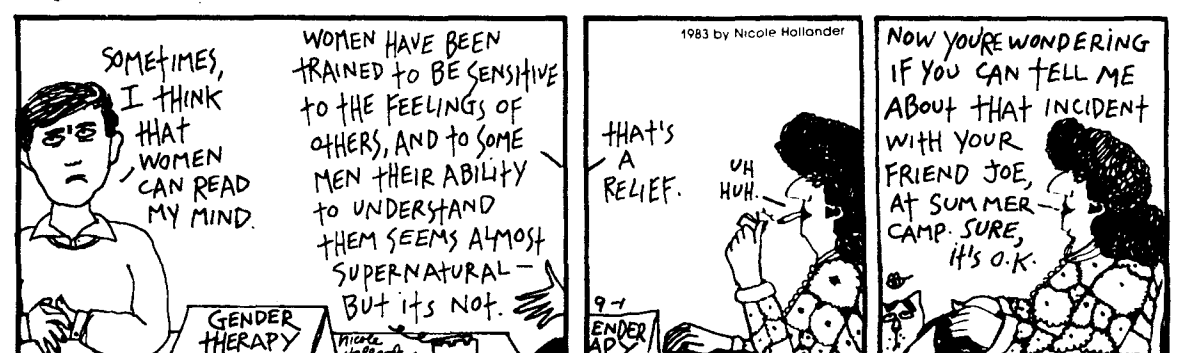
*Map of a New Country* presumes some knowledge of contemporary religious language, and at times gravitates toward a preachiness that is annoying. Compared to other recent books on women and religion, however, it is less academic in approach and serves as a good introduction to the subject.

Betty Friedan was fond of calling the church "the perfected tool for women's subjugation." Maitland is all for holding onto the effectiveness of the tool, yet determined to overcome the subjugation.

Beth Maschinot, a former graduate student in theology, writes for the *National Catholic Reporter*.

## Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



cations for the homosexual's innate "immaturity" and "illness" were of some value, according to D'Emilio. For, whereas before, homosexuality had been discussed only in doctrinaire, religious terms, the social scientists and physicians newly interested in homosexuality broached the matter from a *theoretical* perspective, where their theories were vulnerable to a counter-attack from other arguments.

One of D'Emilio's central points is that the early homophile movement laid the key groundwork for the gay liberationist movement of the '70s, a movement that began with the Stonewall Riots. (In June of 1969, after years of submitting to police raids on gay bars, the patrons of one Greenwich Village tavern fought back a police attempt at arresting patrons by tossing bricks and setting fire to police cars. Several days later the riots continued, and word of the riots spread quickly through the national gay community.)

D'Emilio also understands that the special character of the post-Stonewall gay movement owes much to the particular politics of the women's movement and the New Left. "The peculiar combination of politics and culture that characterized protest in the 1960s gave a boost to the women's movement.... Intimate relationships became arenas of struggle, the bedroom and kitchen battlegrounds, as women's liberationists fashioned a sexual politics that encompassed every aspect of personal life." It would not be long before this heady rhetoric—the sense, writes D'Emilio, that "the personal and political" were bound "so tightly together that the two could no longer be distinguished"—caught on with a new generation of homosexual men and women. As Allen Ginsberg told a reporter when he arrived at the Stonewall two days after the riots. "You know, the guys there were so beautiful. They've lost that wounded look that fags all had 10 years ago."

But although D'Emilio is sensitive to gay liberation's debt to the women's liberation movement and the less-machismo-oriented segments of the New Left, he also unduly minimizes that debt. Surely he is justified in insisting that the "homophile movement deserves kinder treatment than it has received." But when D'Emilio argues that "early gay liberationists not only provided a model to imitate but offered at last the safety of numbers," he is exaggerating their role in the gay liberation movement of the '60s and '70s. The majority of gay activists during post-Stonewall years were utterly ignorant of the Mattachine Society and of many figures like Harry Hay—in fact, of the entire homophile movement. Most of them believed that gay liberation had begun with Stonewall. The confrontational politics of the late '60s and '70s gay liberation movement involved a style of politics the Mattachine Society was not familiar with.

*Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, then, is a kind of explanation—and vindication—of much of the radical politics of the '60s. And as it records the damned-up accumulation of social repressions that broke in the watershed of '60s activism, it is both a striking historical narrative and a moving paean to a group of neglected and heroic political actors.

Richard Kaye is assistant literary editor at *The Nation*.



By Brooke Wentz

Because most contemporary music bases itself against established theories and conventional techniques, it is often thought the composers' sentiments are directly linked with social and political values. And because contemporary music, at least since 1945, is occasionally dissonant and uses seemingly unfamiliar approaches to conventional performance—plucking piano strings or blowing bubbles on stage—audiences sometimes feel this compositional radicalism often reflects an anarchist ideology.

But though social and cultural situations are naturally reflected in an artist's work, the music itself is illusive—conjuring up images and past experiences, releasing energies and personal ambiances. As a result, its political points of view are vague. Only through verse can most composers state explicit ideas and philosophies.

Contemporary musicians assimilate past traditions with current sensibilities—striving to unite new musical theories with artistic as well as social philosophies. Some listeners believe "new music" seems a bourgeois exercise in aesthetics rather than a means of social expression. However, audiences are slowly becoming conscious of the social innuendos of this music as well as enjoying it on its own terms.

#### Voices of joy and angst.

An early tape piece by reknowned German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Gesang Der Jungling" (1955), combines the squeals of children's voices in German layered over electronically generated sounds. The method creates a texturally rich work, by isolating words, phrases and phonemes of voices—simple sounds devoid of connotations, depicting the lighter side of German life.

An Italian composer who uses electronics in a way similar to Stockhausen is Luigi Nono. Like others in the futurist movement with which he is associated, Nono radically strikes out against tradition by producing a rather jarring aggressive musical style. Nono channels his music to reflect personal political stances. In "La Fabbrica Illuminata" (1964), he cunningly mixes machine and industrial sounds with human voices, paralleling the frustration of repressed factory workers. His tape pieces emphasize horror, entrapment and social repression, heightened by electronic sounds screaming and wailing about dismal existence.

Such explicit protest against social injustices are not as obvious in American music. However, Frederic Rzewski, a composer from Massachusetts, is quite well known for his mid-'70s piano rendition on Gergio Ortega's Chilean song "El Pueblo Unido Jamas Sera Vencido" ("The People United Will Never Be Defeated"), the anthem of Allende's Popular Unity government. Rzewski composed 36 variations for this song, all infinitely diverse—but all recognizable as a song of protest against social injustice.

In his later works, Rzewski also builds variations on familiar American ballads. The piano

Ballads" (1979) takes traditional American folk tunes, "Down by the Riverside" and "Winnoboro Cotton Mill Blues," and rearranges and expands on the melodies, thus creating "new" music accessible to all with strong ties to the past.

#### Original American radical.

One of 20th century's most revered and influential composers, well known for his explorations and the integrations of the notion of silence in music is John Cage. He systematically frees sounds from their original context—radios, whistles and speech—integrating them into works.

order to be given medical treatment he purposely opened his leg bruises. Steve Reich's "Come Out" (1966) documents this event and also became a landmark piece in innovative tape manipulation. The work incorporates no instruments, just the voice of a beaten 19-year-old black boy stating, "I had to, like, open the bruise and let some of the bruise blood come out to show them." Not only is the event topical, but the immediacy of Hamm's voice and the way Reich cleverly repeats the single sound fragment "come out to show them," over and over, produces an hypnotic effect.

usually attempting to "reach touch" through lunch dates, messages on phone machines and squeezed-in visits.

"Hi, how are you...Listen, heh, I'm going to have a show on cable TV, it's about loneliness, people in the city who for whatever social, psychological, philosophical reason just can't seem to get together....you know the gap...the gap."

Anderson uses high-tech computerized instruments paralleling foreseen trends in society's future developments. She relies on electronically synthesized push button panels, allowing her violin to symbolize the last remnant of tradition. Anderson's messages make us laugh at technology: radioactive cows, misunderstood languages, neon signs and unpredictable science. These ideas are overtly stated in "O Superman": "so hold me, Mom,

ling Here but the Recordings" (1981), spewing what he sees as the viles of deteriorating American society.

On a more pleasant note, Robert Ashley skillfully uses his voice as an instrument, which he combines with refined, usually minimal, electronics. The ingenuity lies in pairing the context with rhythmic patterns. In "Purposeful Lady Slow Afternoon" (1968), a female voice is slow and arousing—virtually seducing the listener. Ashley's 12-part speech-opera *Perfect Lives (Private Parts)* (1979) mixes commonplace barroom conversation between a couple with dispassionate bar-piano music—reflecting the lives of an American working class. Music and words take equal precedence; the more direct the speech, the more direct the communication.

Composers such as Philip

## ART«»ENTERTAINMENT



Laurie Anderson

MUSIC

Cage is one of America's first radically anti-conventional, anti-institutional composers, genuinely committed to the awareness of sound. Contemporary composers have been greatly affected by his musical philosophies, becoming conscious of silence and the power of "everyday" sounds.

John Adams, another American composer/conductor, taped a radio talk show about the issues of God, salvation and ethics. In the piece "American Standard" (1973), Adams records the taped conversation over a soft, light orchestral work. This minimalizes the discussed moral issues and at the same time focuses on what is being said. The speakers chase each other in circles, one believing in God, the other not.

In 1964, a black boy, Daniel Hamm, was beaten by police-

Many people are familiar with Reich's melodious later works such as "Music for 18 Musicians" (1976) or his recent "Te-Hillim" (1982), both concerned with harmonic process—similar to colleague Philip Glass. Yet what is so striking is that "Come Out" combines process with topic. The piece was a revolutionary step in tape manipulation as well as composition, and its subject was not only political but poignant.

Laurie Anderson, a performance artist presently touring her—multi-media extravaganza "United States (Parts I-IV)," uses vernacular phrases depicting idiosyncratic behavior in American culture. Her songs are about everyday mundane activities and how we get caught up in them. An early piece "New York Social Life" (1973) deals with relationships between people con-

## New, radical measures

in your long arms...in your automatic arms, your petrochemical arms, your military arms, in your electric arms." Like Cage and others, Anderson employs direct messages in a context accessible to her audiences. She adds wit, humor and sarcasm as the listeners sit and ponder their own whimsical existence.

Current poetry and sound-text pieces assimilate the written word with "new" musical techniques. Roger Reynolds adulterates the words of Samuel Beckett's "Watt" and Jorge Luis Borges' *The Palace*—doing it to such extremes that the listener can't help but withdraw from his world into the horrors of Beckett's anguished world. Novelist William Burroughs records his rough guttural voice on "No-

Glass, La Monte Young, David Behrman and Paul DeMarinis focus on harmonic minimal rhythmic structures, sometimes employing complex computers that produce beautiful, innovative music that few could dislike. Joan LaBarbara and Charlie Morrow use chanting vocal technique to return us to the American Indian heritage. They all only want to remind us that music is music—a communion and a feeling. But whatever the motive—political or apolitical—contemporary composers seem certain to continue breaking norms, reflecting social conditions and always struggling with mass social acceptance.

Brooke Wentz is the 20th-century music director for WKCR-FM in New York City.

**Contemporary composers assimilate past traditions with current sensibilities—striving to unite new musical theories with artistic as well as social philosophies.**





The Great Movies

By Morris Dickstein

Luis Bunuel, the great film director who died in late July at the age of 83, went to school with the Jesuits in his native Spain, but came of age in the exhilarating cultural milieu of Paris in the '20s. "A religious education and Surrealism have marked me for life," he once said.

His early films, *Un Chien Andalou*, made with Salvador Dali in 1928, and *L'Age d'Or*, his 1930 masterpiece, were shock treatments applied as much to the sentimental conventions of narrative cinema as to the prudish inhibitions of the bourgeoisie. Behind the rebelliousness and anticlericalism, the intellectuals had their own piety: a facile synthesis of Marx and Freud as anarchists of the spirit and liberators of the psyche. Bunuel went further.

His mocking humor and prankish irreverence were grounded in a fantastic intuition for powerful images. Everyone remembers the razor neatly slicing the eyeball in *Un Chien Andalou*. Was there ever a shot more obscene than Lya Lys sucking dreamily on the toe of a marble statue in *L'Age d'Or*?

Abandoning straightforward narrative as a form of artistic repression, the surrealists conspired to allow the unconscious to speak directly—through images, dreams and fantasies. Freud was fascinated by Bunuel's early work, but the new naturalism of the sound era and the economics of the Depression, with its demand for escapist entertainment, made surrealism untenable. Fritz Lang was castigated for introducing a symbol into his first Hollywood movie, but it took Bunuel much longer to adapt his vision to the exigencies of commercial filmmaking.

During the '30s and '40s Bunuel did everything but direct movies—dubbing, producing, working in the film department at the Museum of Modern Art. Then after a 20-year hiatus came *Los Olvidados* in 1950, a masterfully brutal portrait of slum youths in Mexico City. In this harshly fatalistic film, Bunuel explores a world of savage cruelty—the meanest character is a blind beggar, a great believer in order and order—that includes but transcends all sociological categories.

In the tradition of Freud and the surrealists, Bunuel saw his people less as victims of their environment than as pawns of their own murderous and sado-masochistic fantasy lives. In later films he learned to take this with grim amusement and, finally, with serene detachment.

His fascination with ugliness and violence was almost stereotypically Spanish.

In his third masterpiece, *Viridiana*, which marked his brief return to Spain in 1961, he shows us a scrofulous pack of beggars who take over a respectable household and enact a blasphemous parody of the Last Supper, with the music of *The Messiah* booming in the background. Vile, filthy and deliriously destructive, these quintessential objects of Christian charity are no candidates for sainthood or progressive amelioration.

Bunuel's was an art of deliberate incongruity and coolly insolent free-association. True to his first films, he learned to insert dream and fantasy sequences into otherwise realistic stories. Like Hitchcock, he detested the fraudulence of theatrical emoting. He taught actors to flatten their performances into enigmatic masks while he was projecting their psychic abysses directly on the screen. Only Genet, a much lusher temperament, surpassed him in exploring his characters' baroque fantasies. But where Genet wrote to excite himself, Bunuel affected the iron detachment of a surgeon, probing and slicing into psychic tissue.

In the film criticism he wrote in the '20s, Bunuel was fond of using medical images. He preferred Buster Keaton's blank natural grace to the mannered expressionism of an Emil Jannings, and described Keaton as

## FILM

# The not-so-discreet charm of Luis Bunuel

"an eminent specialist in the treatment of all sentimental disorders."

He once recommended examining films under a microscope and said of one Hollywood screenplay that it was "riddled with melodramatic germs, infected throughout with sentimental typhus compounded by romantic and naturalistic bacilli." Keaton's *College*, on the other hand, was a film that had "the cool beauty of a bathroom."

As any Freudian could tell us, there's no contradiction between Bunuel's crisp, clean, antiseptic sensibility and his obsessive interest in all forms of degradation and corruption. One of his key themes was the testing of an inhuman purity or beauty in the fleshpots of the world.

In *Mexican Bus Ride* (1951) a dense tropical jungle sprouts in the back of a rickety bus and a young man, whose wedding night has been interrupted by an errand of mercy, makes glorious love to a blond fellow-passenger. In *El* (1952) Bunuel's protagonist



The famous, shocking shot from *UN CHIEN ANDALOU*

is a middle-aged religious fanatic, long celibate, who is wracked by insane anxiety over the faithfulness of his new wife. In *Viridiana* a young novice, summoned from a convent, endures the advances of her lascivious uncle—she reminds him of his late wife—and, after his suicide, an assortment of would-be seducers. She exchanges her unworldly perfection for a sardonic knowledge of life in its mixed and uncertain condition. In *Belle de Jour* (1967), his most formally perfect, most immaculate looking film, Bunuel examines the secret life of a far-from-ordinary housewife, the sado-masochistic fantasies that underlie the glacial beauty of Catherine Deneuve, who spends her afternoons in a high-class brothel.

Amazingly, there was never anything sordid about Bunuel's studies in obsession and corruption. In his old age Bunuel achieved the ironic distance on his own ideas that is the autumnal sign of great artistry.

After *Viridiana* he turned from the scabrous underclass to make elegant fables about the ludicrous rituals of middle-class life—the dinner-parties and infidelities that keep boredom from the door. At the same time his bitter anger gave way to a witty raillery that joined the young surrealist to the old man who had seen everything and had become the effortless master of his craft.

Like the Italian directors after Neorealism—and perhaps inspired directly by *L'Avventura*—Bunuel became the chronicler of an age of affluence and ennui, not as sociology but as parable.

Sometimes his fables didn't jell, their associations seemed ar-

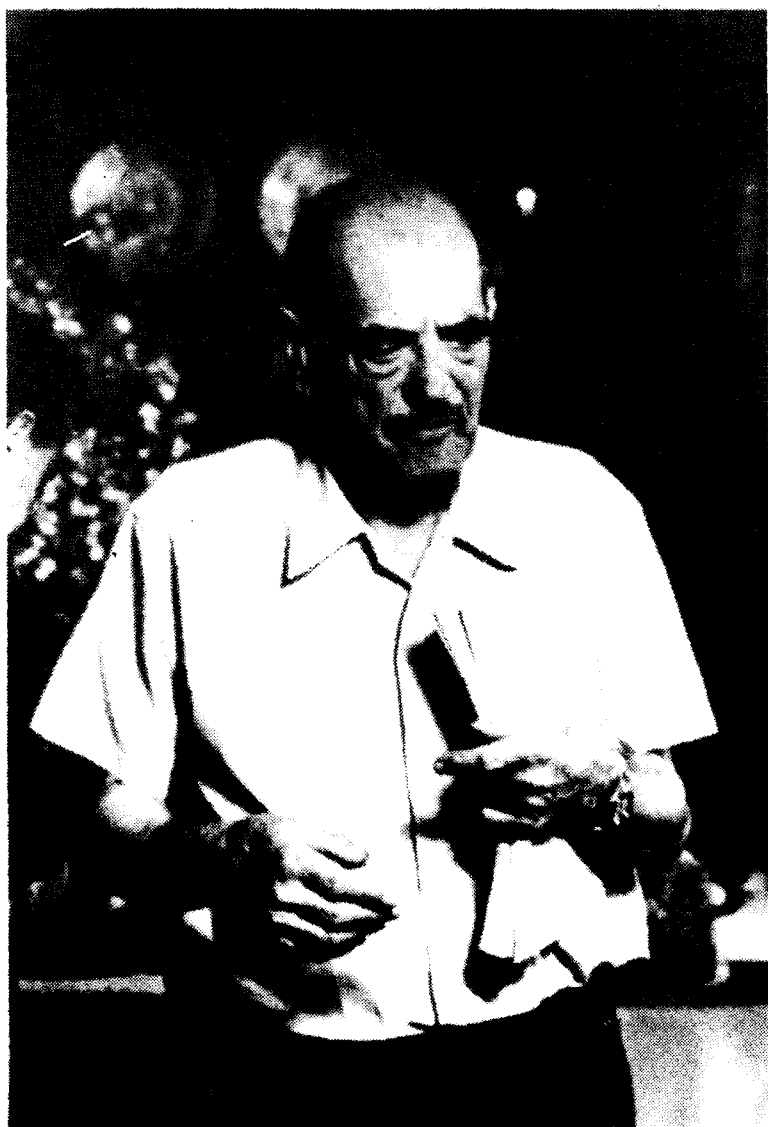
bitrary and eccentric. The more willful incongruities in films like *The Exterminating Angel* (1962) and *The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie* (1972) feel like bare ideas or threadbare conceits. But all in all Bunuel had the grandest old age an artist could wish for: a whole new career in his 60s and 70s, 10 uniquely personal films between *Viridiana* and *That Obscure Object of Desire* (1977) that made him seem the youngest, most vital spirit in films, as well as a precious, long-suppressed link to the avant-garde of the '20s.

Somehow Bunuel became famous and successful without growing dull, pompous and official. He made his peace with realistic storytelling without yielding an inch to well-rounded characters, laws of probability, or sentimental melodrama infected by "romantic and naturalistic bacilli."

Religion, sex and class were the keystones of his work, but he neither eulogized the poor nor underestimated the powerful, the rich and the pious. He graduated from a simple *epater le bourgeois*, an easy blasphemy and obscenity, to subtler allegories that humanized his adversaries and showed that he too had felt the discreet charms of the bourgeoisie.

He was an atheist in dialogue with God, a lapsed believer who portrayed the cruelty and irrationality of life without a trace of false consolation but with innumerable moments of aberrant pleasure and dark laughter.

■ Morris Dickstein teaches literature and film at Queens College and was recently elected to the National Society of Film Critics.



The Great Movies

an old man, Luis Bunuel  
one of the youngest, most  
spirits in film.



# Prague

Continued from page 12

new hero was an alienated adolescent, oppressed by (real and symbolic) patriarchal authority—as in Forman's *Black Peter*—but less sullen and narcissistic than our adolescent heroes like James Dean. There was an awkward tenderness, a provincial freshness in the new archetype that suggested revived integrity and lack of guile in the society at large.

Meanwhile, director Vera Chytilova and screenwriter Ester Krumbachova made sure that the humanization of man did not become an exclusively male phenomenon. Chytilova's *Something Different* is a powerful juxtaposition of two female prisons, the traditional home and the new career, neither of which can accommodate the development of the whole person who possesses a wide variety of talents and needs. It was in the name of full liberation, and not phony half-measures, that filmmakers were making films.

## The test of time.

Much of the culture produced by the Czechoslovak experiment has withstood the test of time. For the most part, only students and scholars are pondering the encyclopedic histories or ideological polemics written about the period. But Havel's brilliant play about the insanities of bureaucrats, *The Memorandum* (Grove Press), and the new and complete English translation of Kundera's *The Joke* (Harper and Row) will last. This spring, a nine-week retrospective of Czechoslovakian "new wave" cinema played at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and the leading films frequently crop up on college campuses.

But there's a more elusive way in which ideas enter history. The Amer-

ican media and its public have often been accused of fickleness toward dissidents, but surely most of them greet mention of August '68 with a significant pause, a little silence. The American left in particular owes much to the Czechoslovakia of the '60s. That small nation, in years of activity and turmoil, managed to wrench the word "socialism" from the grip of the Soviet Union and give it new, independent meaning. With the Czechoslovak experiment, "democratic socialism" could no longer be dismissed as a conflict in terms.

Even after the invasion, the Czech tradition of artistic involvement in ethical issues was not entirely lost. Within Czechoslovakia, Havel, Kosik and other intellectuals were instrumental in forming and maintaining a human rights movement: Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (see sidebar). Of course, many prominent artists and writers have emigrated (voluntarily and under duress), among them Goldstucker, Skvorecky, Kundera, Forman, Mlynar, Lustig and Svitek. But emigration does not negate their work of the '60s.

After 15 years, perhaps the seeds sown in Czechoslovakia are only beginning to bear fruit. As Solidarity plans for active and passive resistance, a protracted war of attrition, they have to be looking at the Czechoslovakian episode. Maciej Oltarzewski, a former leader of Solidarity now in the U.S., reports that he met many times with Czech dissidents in '81 and heard them regret that, after the invasion, they lacked an organization capable of carrying on the movement for democracy. The Solidarity underground is an attempt to learn from that mistake, from the oft-repeated Czech lament in the aftermath of '68, "We should have fought back."

Karen Rosenberg is a fellow at Harvard's Russian Research Center.

# Whiz

Continued from page 17

strategists, intelligence services and political leaders, in their vast overwhelming majority, have preferred to *imagine* our enemy rather than to find out what they are really like, what they really want, how it might be possible to get along with them. I see two ideological reasons for this deliberate ignorance.

One was the desire to keep on having Hitler as "the enemy" forever. Hitler was such a perfect enemy that all the victorious allies have gone on till this day squeezing the last drop out of their World War II fantasies. Russian movies seem to be mostly about the great patriotic war defeating Hitlerism, and just this month Andropov finally suggested fewer grandiose war monuments as an austerity measure. On the Western side, as soon as we had trouble with Stalin he became "Hitler" (thanks to theories about "totalitarianism"). And American leaders have gone right on reasoning by analogy, grasping at every clue (usually some misconstrued ideological harangue) that the Russians, just like Hitler, were out to "conquer the world." This was more fun than trying to understand the USSR, pathologically secretive and much more boring than Nazi Germany (at least the Hollywood version).

Secondly, this luxury of frivolous ignorance seemed possible because the U.S. held the absolute power of the Bomb. America did not need to understand the world. It was up to the world to understand America, and pay heed. "The only thing they understand is force," and we had plenty of it. As Kaplan points out, the American strategic approach in the nuclear age has been based on coercion, on using the power to inflict pain to get others to stop doing whatever it is we don't like.

So the U.S. security establishment, by projection, has created a fictitious

monster called the USSR, which is largely the mirror image of strategic threats dreamed up by the American wizards for their own side.

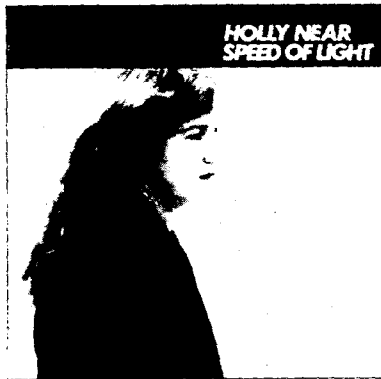
As a companion volume, I suggest a recent anthology called *Germany Debates Defense* edited by Rudolf Steinke. The articles were written for German rather than American readers in the first place, thus this collection provides an opportunity for Americans who do not read German to eavesdrop on the important debate going on in Germany. This is only a sample of that debate (especially the Social Democratic wing), but it brings out many of the *political* factors persistently ignored by our strategists.

In the official American mythology, the 1961 Berlin Crisis was a great victory for American "resolve." Kennedy stood up to Khrushchev and preserved West Berlin for the Free World. Well, Berliners in particular and Germans in general don't see it that way at all. They saw that when the Wall went up in August 1961, the Americans could do nothing to stop it. All "toughness" had accomplished was to rule out some possible negotiated accommodation that would have offered the East German regime a less brutal way to check the population drain. The Americans could consider the Wall a propaganda victory, since it disgraced the East German regime. Score plus one for our side, and minus one for their side. A zero sum game: if it's bad for them, it's good for us.

But the Wall was bad for all Germans, East and West. Read the article by Egon Bahr and the section on "the German question." When the Wall went up, "power politics showed how truly weak it was." Afterwards, with *detente* and *Ostpolitik*, Germans found that politics by itself could accomplish more. It was possible, slowly and carefully, to find compromises that benefited all sides.

But the sorcerer's apprentice, Richard Perle, is ensconced in the Pentagon and wizardry reigns supreme with its syllogisms. One of them, called the search for Balance, goes like this: suppose A and B are equal. Then if A strikes B first, A will be superior to B and vice versa. Thus to be equal after a first strike by the other, each must be *superior* to the other to start with in order to have enough left over. Thanks to "brilliant" thinking like this, the arms race can and must go on and on until the world's resources are exhausted or everything blows up, or until Americans wake up, banish wizardry and turn to politics.

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### CHICAGO, IL

#### September 1

Physicians for Social Responsibility Chicago Chapter meeting. Rush Medical Center, 1750 W. Harrison, Room 1245-Jelke. Thursday, 6:30 p.m. Speaker—Paul Mazur, Pax Christi, U.S.A., "Religious and Moral Implications of Nuclear War." C.M.E. credit—Category II. Everyone welcome. 726-8087.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### August 26

New Jewish Agenda is sponsoring a special Friday night Shabbat service for Jobs, Peace and Freedom at 7:30 p.m. at GWU's Marvin Center Ballroom (21st and I Streets, NW). The service will blend the religious and secular to present a distinctively Jewish expression of support for the March on Washington. A special section will be included in celebration of women. For more information, call Moe Rodenstein, (301) 585-4332.

#### September 11

Protest against the arms bazaar. Peace and justice fair (4-6 p.m.) and ecumenical Christian worship service (6-7:30 p.m.) in opposition to the Air Force Association's annual nuclear and nuclear weapons exhibition, Sheraton Washington Hotel (Woodley and Connecticut Rd. NW). Info: Sojourners, (202) 636-3637.

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# Perry

Continued from page 24

'Hey, I've got to do something about this.'"

He began by responding to requests for speeches and by the November 1982 election he had appeared more than 50 times in support of the nuclear freeze. He was in demand particularly because he could

speak with authority about what it's like inside a weapons lab.

"Livermore," says Perry, "is not just a scientific place. It's kind of a way of life.... If you're a scientist at Livermore and you're working on weapons, you have to believe in that. You have to really believe that the Russians are at the door. There is a serious belief on the part of many scientists who work there that they are saving the world from extinction."

Perry sees a tendency in the antinuclear weapons movement to demonize those

who work on weapons, to view them as "monsters, ogres, vicious men who are seeking power." But, says Perry, "there are an awful lot of nice guys at Livermore. They are not bent on destruction; they are bent on scientific excellence."

But this reluctance to look at one's relationship to the larger picture is not peculiar to scientists. "We Americans," says Perry, "are a very trusting people. We have a tendency to trust the government with the big decisions, because that leaves us free for the small decisions, like

which shaving soap to buy."

What would he want to tell scientists still designing weapons at Livermore—people whose work he promoted as recently as last year?

"I would ask people at Livermore to read more, to think more about what they're doing, to ask some fundamental questions of themselves. The world has reached such an incredible position around nuclear arms that we can no longer afford to have science be amoral or apolitical."

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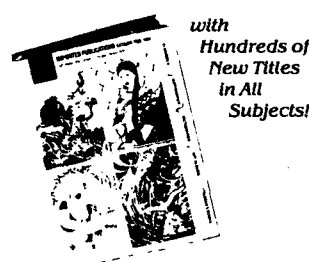
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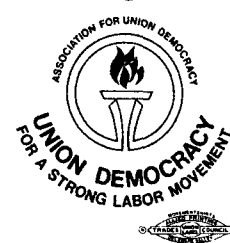
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# COMMUNICATIONS BREAK

BY CHARLES VARON



ONE SUNDAY FOUR MONTHS after Bill Perry had resigned from Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, his wife walked into their bedroom, threw that day's *California Living* (the Sunday magazine supplement to the *San Francisco Examiner*) on the bed and said, "It looks like your damn plan is working."

On the magazine's cover were six small photos of smiling men, inset into an article whose text began right there.

"This article is about the people 'on the other side of the fence.' These are the men at the nuclear weapons laboratory in Livermore...." The story, which stretched over another seven pages, interspersed chatty descriptions of the men with their observations about their work and their mission.

During his nine months as director of public relations at Livermore, Bill Perry had developed a sophisticated PR plan. Its goal was not to promote the primary work of the lab—designing weapons—but the scientists who did that work. The six men interviewed in *California Living* were part of Perry's stable of carefully selected media stars—scientists who came across as likable human beings rather than technicians working on ways to destroy the world.

## • Not a hero story. •

Bill Perry is a seasoned communicator, a PR man who has spent 20 years working for corporations, the civil rights movement, nonprofit organizations and—most recently—both the defense establishment and the peace movement.

Perry is quick to point out that his conversion to the antinuclear cause was neither sudden nor heroic. He left Livermore not for moral or political reasons, but over a conflict with one of the lab's directors. It was only afterward that he began speaking on behalf of the nuclear freeze campaign and consulting with the Livermore Action Group, the organization responsible for many protests at the lab.

But even while still at Livermore, Perry had been troubled by the lab's role in the nuclear arms race. Working there, he reflects, wasn't consistent with his thinking or his background.



**Livermore labs was a "PR man's dream," says Bill Perry—until he investigated the details about nuclear weapons.**

Born in suburban New Rochelle, N.Y., in 1929, Bill Perry grew up in a "kind of liberal Roosevelt family." At City College of New York he majored in American literature. "I was a young poet and hung out in Greenwich Village coffee-houses," he remembers. "In 1959 I was very involved with an actress who was leading some SANE activities. And I did a few marches on the Ban the Bomb campaign. I might have gotten more involved, except in 1960 the civil rights movement came into being and that drew my personal attention."

A writing job at a business magazine launched Perry into the corporate world. He did one-year stints at IBM and Smith-Corona and in 1965 joined the community relations staff of Western Electric.

Perry also worked directly in the civil rights movement. One of only a handful of black PR men in the country at that time, he brought his skills to strategy sessions with such civil rights leaders as

Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King Jr.

Perry came to California in May 1980 as director of public affairs for the Bay Area United Way and began working at Livermore in August 1981 with a \$50,000 salary, a staff of 27 and "unlimited resources."

"If it weren't for the product," Perry says, "Livermore is a PR man's dream." Perry's plan for the weapons lab called for the training of 12 scientists as media stars every year for three years.

"If a reporter called up looking for a story and was hostile, then I'd know which scientist to turn that reporter on to. Or we could provide a scientist who was really aggressive or who would make pithy statements. We had figured out so reporters could get precisely what they wanted. It's packaging the product." Perry now regards his PR plan, which is still in operation at Livermore, as "insidious."

As late as January 1982, Perry says, "I probably could have sold you on the idea of nuclear weapons—I probably could have sold *anybody* on weapons. I was really good at it."

Then Perry attended a convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington. There he heard a speech on the dangers of the arms race by Dr. Helen Caldicott, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility. Perry remembers thinking, "There's a hysterical woman who's over the edge." Still, he was disturbed by what she said: if even half of it was accurate, "we were in a lot of trouble."

Perry returned to Livermore and got ready for the first civil disobedience demonstration at the lab. At the next demonstration, two months later, Perry chatted with some of the protesters. He remembers telling one of his staff people, "If Martin Luther King were alive today, he'd be leading this demonstration. And if Martin were leading this demonstration, and I were on the inside of the fence, I'd have a real dilemma about where I ought to be."

After San Francisco Archbishop John Quinn made a strong statement against nuclear weapons, the lab began to take the disarmament movement seriously. Perry's department began preparing scientists to speak publicly, but in debates they came up against a formidable obstacle—*The Last Epidemic*, a vivid film on the medical effects of nuclear war. So Perry got a copy of the film and viewed it privately. "It blew me away," he says. "I can't tell you how disturbed I was."

## • Peace conversion. •

When Perry left the lab last May he was still by no means a peacenik. He was merely leaving his job. Until then he had thought the peace movement was "kind of a fringe element. I began to find it was quite a central movement," he adds. "I began hearing the seriousness of the movement." Perry telephoned prominent peace activist Daniel Ellsberg, who led him on a three-day "educational journey."

"Dan began laying out the picture for me—of weapons and what it was all about. I read like mad. And the more I read, the more depressed I got. And the more depressed I got, the more I said,

*Continued on page 23*